

**Proceedings of the
National Convention
of the Socialist Party
at Machinist's Hall,
113 S. Ashland
Boulevard, Chicago,
Illinois, August 30 to
September 5, 1919**

PROCEEDINGS
of the
National Convention
of the
Socialist Party
at
Machinists' Hall, 113 S. Ashland Boulevard,
Chicago, Ill.

FIRST DAY.

Saturday, August 30th, 1919.

11.00 o'clock, A.M.

The convention was called to order by Comrade Adolph Germer, National Executive Secretary, at eleven o'clock, A.M.

COMRADE GERMER: Comrades and Friends: Under the National Constitution of the Party, it becomes my duty to call to order the National Convention. I am sure that you will agree with me when I say that this will, doubtless, be the most epoch-making convention in the history of American socialism; largely due to the world developments during the last five years. On account of the world happenings during that time, tremendous changes in thought have taken place; not only changes in thought, but social revolutions have occurred in various countries of the world. These facts have had their reflex

in other countries, including the United States; and, as a result of these conditions, there has also been augmented in the Party the factional conflicts that have existed and have manifested themselves from time to time, until it has reached a condition where it was necessary to call together the representatives of the Socialist Party in a national convention and there exchange our ideas and our thoughts, and, on the basis of such interchange of ideas and thoughts, formulate a policy and program to unite the working classes of this country, that we might follow the splendid example set by our comrades in Russia. (Applause)

When I say that, I want it clearly understood that we do not adopt in toto the methods of our European comrades. We readily distinguish between the conditions prevailing in Russia at the time of the revolution, and the conditions that prevail in this country now. We recognize that there is a marked distinction, a decided difference, both in political and economical conditions, and, in consequence, our methods will have to be somewhat different in accomplishing our goal. (Applause)

It is upon this that there has been a division in the Party, but there are other reasons for the division, for the factional controversy. I am not discouraged because of any factional controversy in the Party. I always believed that this factional division leads to healthy methods, provided it is not carried to the extent where the organization is torn

into parts and shreds, and leaves us an easy prey to our common enemy. (Applause) And, in this controversy, methods have been resorted to that are unheard of in any socialistic movement in the world. Schemes have been conceived under high-sounding phrases of capturing the Party for revolutionary socialism, implying thereby that the Socialist Party is not a revolutionary party. (Applause) I think that it requires no extended argument to convince every open-minded comrade here that the Socialist Party of the United States, during the most critical and trying period of the world's history, stood as true to its revolutionary principles as any socialist party on earth. (Applause)

In testimony of our loyalty to international revolutionary socialism, we find that hundreds, yea! thousands of our members are in the prisons today, and hundreds more on the way to prison. Were we the Scheidemann's and the Eberts that some would characterise us and charge us with being, I am satisfied that Comrade Eugene W. Debs would not be in prison today, and that even Comrade Berger, who seems to be a thorn in the flesh of the self-styled loyalists, would not be under a 20-year sentence, and four more indictments pending against him. (Applause) Nor, would the Congress of the United States today seek to keep him from a seat in the National legislative hall of the United States when he was elected

by an overwhelming plurality. (Loud applause) To me, at least, it is evidence that our activity has been loyal to the working class, the charges to the contrary notwithstanding.

But, comrades, this activity in the Socialist Party has not confined itself in these activities to the so-called capture of the Party for revolutionary socialism; has not confined itself to a discussion of principles, of methods or of tactics of personal slanders and conspiracies against individuals that have been engaged in for no other purpose than to break down the confidence of the membership in ~~those~~ ~~in~~ whose hands the affairs of the Socialist Party were, by the members, entrusted. They know that, when the confidence of the membership is broken, that insurgency can easily triumph. But, I am glad to say, comrades, that those who have been in the Party for years, tried and true, upon whose shoulders the burden of the activities in the past have rested, are true to the Socialist Party today, and are issuing decided rebukes against insurgency and disruption. (Applause) I say that, not satisfied with charges against a so-called and alleged reactionary party, but in the dark, like midnight thieves, sneaking from ear to ear, whispering inaudibly, hoping thereby that the comrades may think that there is something wrong with those who have been selected by the members to manage the affairs of the Party. I know,

comrades, that the truth is not pleasant, and I know, when the fingers are put upon the guilty, they always set up a shriek. (Applause) No specific statements, but general gossip, rumor, suggestion, innuendo; the kind of work that the Harry Orchards carry on in the economical labor movement. I want to say that, when the ballots have been counted, and when the facts are recorded, we will have no apologies to make; we are willing to rest upon the facts, and not upon innuendo, not upon rumor, not upon suggestions.

So far as I am concerned, comrades, I want to say this, and say it emphatically: that, if there is any lingering doubt in the mind of any one as to my conduct in the Socialist Party, I want the most extensive and fullest investigation made, that the facts might become known. (Cries of "Good," and applause) If there is anything against my any member of the National Executive Committee, the majority of the Executive Committee, I correct, against whom there is any lingering doubt as to their activities in the Socialist Party, I am satisfied, and I can speak for them and voice their sentiments, that they want the fullest investigation made, and the facts reported. (Applause) And, that is what we are here for. The membership wants to know the truth, and, so far as this convention is concerned, the membership is going to have it. (Applause)

Comrades, it is not my purpose to go into a detailed

history of our movements at the last National Convention. Most of you are fully familiar with it. It will come out in the course of the discussion. Under the National Constitution, those delegates whose credentials have been reported, and against whom there is no contest, shall organize the convention permanently, and pass upon those whose seats have been contested.

In order to satisfy the minds of those who are not familiar with the provision of the Constitution in respect to the National Convention, I read Section 6, Art. IX, paragraph c:

"At the time and place set for the opening of the National Convention, the Executive Secretary shall call the convention to order, and shall call the roll to ascertain the number of uncontested delegates, and they shall permanently organize the convention."

Comrades, before reading the names of the uncontested delegates, I want to read the official call that brought you together here this morning.

(Here copy call)

There is just one other matter on which I think I ought to touch, and that is the occurrence here the early part of this morning. Under the contract for this hall, the Socialist Party was given the exclusive use thereof, during the period of the rental of this hall and the adjoining ante-rooms. It was reported to the office that a number of persons, contested delegates and non-delegates, were filling the hall. I immediately came over here, and found the report to be true. I asked them to vacate the hall until the convention was duly organized and that the matters coming before it may take their orderly course. A storm of protest immediately went up. And, after repeated requests, and finding a police officer here, several of the comrades who were in the hall said, "Ask the police officer to clear the hall until the convention is organized, and then admit those who are entitled to admission." It was upon that request, the urgent request of a number of delegates, that the police officials were finally appealed to. Now, I regret as much as any of you, and I know all of you regret, that a condition of that kind was created, and I say, comrades, the remarks that were made, the comments that were passed as they left the hall, indicated that they were playing for such a condition to make propaganda against the Socialist Party. (Loud applause) One of them, a leading spirit of the Opposition, said, "This is just what we wanted. It will make us ten thousand members." Now, if those are the methods by which they expect to get members, I say

that such members are not an asset to the revolutionary socialist movement. (Applause)

The list of uncontested delegates are as follows:

That, up to the present time, is a complete list of the uncontested delegates, and delegates for whom credentials have been received.

- There are a number of delegates who have credentials, but whose seats have been contested. Naturally, that would have to come before a committee on contests, if such is created by this convention.

The next order of business will be the election of a temporary chairman.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I rise to nominate Comrade Seymour Stedman, of Chicago.

COMRADE GERMER: Any further nominations?

COMRADE REID: I nominate Joseph M. Coldwell, of Rhode Island.

COMRADE GERMER: If there are no further nominations, the nominations shall be closed.

COMRADE: How can you have a chairman of the day, when you don't know who the delegates are?

COMRADE GERMER: The convention seats the uncontested delegates. They shall permanently organize the convention, and they pass upon the contested delegates. There is no other provision made in the Constitution.

COMRADE: Do I understand by that ruling that any contested delegates that are subsequently seated here by the delegates would not have a vote on who the permanent chairman of the day shall be?

COMRADE GERMER: Absolutely not. It cannot be otherwise.

COMRADE: I move that the present chairman serve only until such time as there is a final report.

COMRADE GERME : There is no motion in order. The convention is not yet organized. There is no convention until you get a chairman of the day.

COMRADE: Is it not a fact that in the past conventions the usual order was to nominate and elect a temporary chairman until the convention was permanently organized, and then he was made permanent chairman? That's for information.

COMRADE GERMER: That might have been the rule, but the Constitution states differently. The Constitution now says that all the uncontested delegates to the convention shall be permanently organized. We are following the Constitution. (Cries of "Question.") All those who favor Comrade Stedman as the chairman of the day raise their right hand. (88 were counted.) All those who favor Comrade Coldwell will raise their hand. (37 were counted.)

CHAIRMAN GERMER: For Stedman, 88, and for Coldwell, 37. Comrade Seymour Stedman is elected chairman of the day. (Loud applause)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN:

Comrades and Delegates: The second decade of the 20th century opened with a vast labor conflict in every capitalist country. Rising prices, strikes and unemployment were universal, a situation which could not be disposed of by the happy phrase of the President that the "depression was psychological." Imperialistic capitalism, straining every nerve in the friction for nationalistic preservation, burst into flame on the very eve of the meeting of the International; and those Socialists best grounded in the fundamentals of their teachings stood aghast to see the workers--many of them drilled in economics by Marx and Engels--marching toward each other for mutual destruction. Nationalism and a false patriotism quickly submerged, suppressed and crushed the voices of those who rose in protest.

In this country we were free in the early months to look upon the scene from a distance, and the terrible slaughter gave a moral support to our denunciation of the war and our exposition of its economic and capitalistic background. Soon, however, the United States became a potential ally. Countless thousands of unemployed working men in this country were absorbed in manufacturing the implements with which to destroy their comrades in other lands. The unemployed rapidly disappeared. The masters of industry in this country reaped a rich reward in large dividends and profits. Our capitalists grew wealthy from Europe's destruction, and with diminishing

human life on the battlefields of the old world, the wages in this country rose and employment offered superior opportunities. As the war fortunes wavered, the foreign debtors to the great industries of the United States werethreatened with a defeat. Then, over the sacred pledge of the chief executive, whose election was heralded as a triumph for peace. the imperialists started a preparedness campaign and organized for the purpose of protecting their foreign investments and soon induced this country to become an actual war participant. The president severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government and called a special session of Congress.

The Socialists of the United States countered this move by calling a convention, fixing April 6, 1917, as the date. Thereupon, the President of the United States advanced the time for the calling of the Congress and war activities proceeded so speedily that the public could not organize its opposition.

At the St. Louis convention, the Proclamation and War Program was adopted, and this placed the majority Socialists of the United States in mutual alliance with Russia, Italy, Serbia and minority groups in other countries who plainly saw the imperial capitalistic design and purpose of the war. Our party sought by every means to bring together the workers of all the warring countries, who had peace in their hearts, to stop the war and prevent this country's entrance into the war.

This was made impossible by the hypocrites who knew that a real peace or real democracy could only come from the working class in every country. Our action was sufficient to turn against our party the courts, the press, the administrative forces of the government, and a wild, frantic and unreasoning populace. We who had opposed war for many years and with faith in the value of life, became social outlaws. We were not free from the attacks of the mob on the streets, or rage from the bench. Our branches in small communities were stricken and fell from over 5000 to 3500. Our membership for a short time dwindled, then turned and began to increase with strong and vital strides. This served to provoke more desperate measures against us. Our National office was raided again and again. Small papers of the workers were suppressed; foreign language papers were suppressed. The privilege of the mails was denied to our leading dailies. Our members were arrested, jailed, convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The liberties which we were supposed to enjoy were throttled, and constitutional guarantees we found to be merely academic declarations.

The espionage law prepared for Congress was rushed through with a provision which made it unlawful to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States, and the word "obstruct" by the judiciary was given a new and different meaning than that which we had come to know.

It meant any statement, any act, any gesture from shaking the head to publishing a document which might "chill the ardor," "reduce the enthusiasm," or make a person less likely to enthusiastically enlist in the army. In effect, this made a crime out of any criticism of the motives of our masters, the jury being the judges--juries impatient and bitter--to them the question was left as to the possible effect of any act or statement. And to suggest that the war was for the purpose of making the world safe for hypocrisy; to suggest that upon a popular vote the people would have voted against the war; to declare that the war was for industrial purposes; to declare that we did not enter the war because of aggressions of Germany upon our trade; all served as a sufficient excuse for prosecutions and imprisonments. In a few days the civil liberties of the United States--the boast of a century and a half--were throttled and died. Our party members, nevertheless, keeping faith with the cause, contributed their mites, their dimes and their dollars to defend the most distinguished and the most obscure in our ranks. Within the reach of its financial resources, the party never failed in any instance. And it did not pause there. When the Industrial Workers of the World were on trial, our party assisted them morally and financially and declared their rights to a fair trial, free from bias and prejudice of the public. The Industrial Workers of the World were work-

ing men, and that was sufficient for us. Wherever the workers were attacked--whether they accept our theories in whole or in part--they became our immediate concern, because they were of the working class movement.

In electing delegates to international conferences, we provided strictly that only those conferences should be recognized and participated in which admitted the most revolutionary working class parties of other countries--the Communists of Russia and the Spartacides of Germany. We did not ignore any international conference in which the workers might participate. We only imposed conditions which would admit and bring into the conference those who were most fundamentally grounded in the proletarian struggle.

During the active war period, it was impossible for a free and adequate expression of opinion in any convention which we might call, because, if any one in the convention advocated the unequivocal approval of the war and our entrance into it, he would challenge the position of the party and the delegates in the convention, who could only reply by violating the espionage law. Under these circumstances, where a clear exposition of international Socialist movement would invite prosecution and lead to imprisonment, a convention became unthinkable. At the time of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, many communications were received by some of the most

prominent members of the party seeking a convention to change our policy and to approve the war. Those who were serving on your committee at that time were fully conscious that between a working class control in Russia and the Czar, the capitalists of the United States would prefer an alliance with the latter; that capitalism may resent the expense of maintaining a horde of royalists, but even these they would prefer rather than to surrender the control and the ownership of the industries to the workers. Your committee, in view of this, delayed consciously the calling of a convention at that time, and within sixty days their judgment was vindicated. And, to the intelligent and knowing worker the whole tragedy was revealed that working men who proposed to take possession of the former Czar's country were considered infamous outlaws, and for a Soviet Russia our party did not stint or delay its active support.

With all this staggering weight off party continued keeping the international colors flying on high. Before there was even an opportunity, however, to readjust our party's attitude in conformity with the new and immediate problems of reconstruction, there grew up within the organization those who were impatient of a measured method of procedure. Many, influenced by the rapid changes taking place in Russia and Europe--and believing that in this country, the richest creditor nation of the world, and with a working class dis-

contented, but by no means revolutionary--these members in our party, misjudging entirely the psychology of the American working class movement, commenced an agitation in the party, not solely to bring before our national convention their propositions, but to declare that they alone hold the secret of success and to impose it upon the party, and upon refusal of the membership to accept their proposition, to launch a new political party--and with many of them this has been carried out in the formation of the Communist Party. It is probable that in our organization some have leaned too strongly to political action and failed to recognize that political action in itself, without the support and fortification necessary from industrial organization, will fall far short in meeting the needs of the workers in changing the industrial order. And, on the other hand, there are countless numbers who feel that the stretch of time necessary for the gaining of political control makes necessary the emphasis of industrial organization as the sole and only weapon for the change, using political activity as a mere cloak or camouflage to conceal their mass action revolution. Serious problems which this convention must meet with calmness and intelligence. Just as the world about us is in a crucial condition, so naturally that is reflected within our Socialist Party. In our deliberations it must be hoped that we shall escape from the nervous impatience, the legacy

which the last four years of frenzy left us. Some time, with tranquil judgment, this period will be written, and every civilized human being who reads it will do so with profound respect for those brave and sincere comrades who kept the torch burning during the dark years through which we have passed, and through which we are now traveling.

The next in order is the election of a vice-chairman..

I would like to announce that when the delegates rise, they state their name and their delegation, so that the reporter reporting this convention for us can properly accredit the remarks to the persons making them.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I desire to place in nomination the name of Comrade Algernon Lee, of New York.

COMRADE COLDWELL: I place in nomination the name of Comrade Fred B. Chase, of New Hampshire.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Are there any other nominations? Hearing none, I will declare the nominations closed, and you will proceed to vote.

The result of the ballot showed that Comrade Lee received 81 votes and Comrade Chase received 34 votes.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I declare Comrade Lee elected as vice-chairman. We will now proceed to the election of a secretary.

COMRADE BRAND: I nominate Comrade Julius Gerber, of New York.

COMRADE ENGLAND: I nominate Comrade Louis F. Wolf, of New

Jersey.

COMRADE VICTERSON: I nominate Comrade George E. Roewer, Jr., of Massachusetts.

The result of the ballot showed that Comrade Gerber received 75 votes and Comrade Wolf received 37 votes, Comrade Roewer declining the nomination.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I declare Comrade Gerber elected as secretary. The next order is the election of a sergeant-at-arms.

COMRADE OWENS: What is the necessity of a sergeant-at-arms when we have the police here? (Loud applause.)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I assume that this was put in the rules during the time when we expected that all comrades would be gentlemen, at least. (Applause) You will proceed with the nominations.

COMRADE SOLOMON: I nominate Comrade James C. Sheahan, of New York.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There being no further nominations, I declare the nominations closed and I declare Comrade Sheahan elected as sergeant-at-arms. The election of a committee on contests is now in order.

COMRADE SEHL: I want to place in nomination Comrade Van Essen, of Pennsylvania.

COMRADE: I want to make a motion.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You have a right on the floor, but,

under the Constitution, you have no right to make a motion.

COMRADE CHRISTENSEN: I rise to a point of information. I want to know if it is already decided how many are going to be elected on that committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The rule submitted five. Just one second. If you will permit me, we will eliminate to the extent to which we have proceeded on these nominations, and we will take up the rules for adoption first, because the convention may wish to revise those.

COMRADE BERGER: Has the sergeant-at-arms been elected?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Yes. If you have a sufficient number, will the sergeant-at-arms pass a copy of the rules to each one of the delegates.

COMRADE ZIMMERMAN: Are the rules of order to be adopted permanently before we finally organize?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The rules of order will be adopted by this convention. When the other delegates are seated, if they are seated, there is nothing to prevent a reconsideration of the motions, and to change any and every act performed by this convention up to that time. A majority of the convention at any time can do what it wishes. The secretary will proceed to read the rules submitted, commencing with No. 5.

SECRETARY GERBER: Rule 5 reads as follows:

"5. The election of a Committee on Contests to consist of five members."

COMRADE BLOCK: I make a motion to amend that, that the committee to consist of seven members instead of five.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE ZIMMERMAN: I want to know whether it will be a credentials committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It acts as a credentials committee; on contests only, of course. All in favor of the motion, will say "aye," and those opposing it will say "no." The ayes seem to have it; the ayes have it. You will now vote on the motion as amended. All in favor of the election of the committee on contests to consist of seven members will signify by the word "aye"; those opposing it, "no." The ayes seem to have it; the ayes have it; and the motion as amended is adopted. You will now proceed to No. 6.

SECRETARY GERBER: No. 6 reads as follows:

"6. The Convention takes recess during which time Committee on Contests holds open session, which all delegates are urged to attend."

I move this recommendation be laid on the table.

COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will ask for a consensus of opinion

of the house. Strictly, in a parliamentary sense, we should adopt the rules complete, before acting on any single provision. If you don't do that, you will find, as you proceed that your earlier provisions will conflict with the latter. I will entertain a motion in order to get a consensus of opinion.

COMRADE BLOCK: I will make that motion.

CHAIRMAN: The motion is made that we shall dispose of the rules complete before acting upon them and carrying them out. There is a motion made to strike it out, and lay on the table.

COMRADE GERBER: Strike it out.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Are you ready for the question?

COMRADE KRUSE: I want to know whether the credentials committee will interpret the passage of this motion as a mandate to the committee to go in secret session.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It will be impossible for the chairman to say how the convention will interpret it, and it will be embarrassing to ask him how the chairman tomorrow or the day after will interpret it. For myself, I do not understand that there is to be any secret session of any kind or character of the convention today. (Applause)

COMRADE: A point of information. Just what will the adoption of this motion mean?

SECRETARY GERBER: I will explain that. I made a motion to strike this out to save the time of this convention. This provision provides that this convention should take a recess, and at the same time have the committee on contests get here and take up the time of the convention. My motion to strike it out will leave it for the committee on contests to meet in any of the adjoining rooms and transact their business, while the convention may meet here and transact some other business, instead of holding it up for one or two or three days. I don't know how long it will take them to settle these questions.

COMRADE KRUSE: Is an amendment in order at this time?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Was your motion to strike out or table?

SECRETARY GERBER: To strike out.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Neither of these would be amendable.

It is a mistake that it is there now.

COMRADE ZIMMERMAN: I am opposed to striking out that clause.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: On what ground?

COMRADE ZIMMERMAN: On the ground that we are in the process of voting. Information was asked, and then, on a question of parliamentary procedure, nothing is in order but the vote.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think the point of order is good.

A vote being taken on the motion to strike out Rule 6, 77 votes were recorded in the affirmative and 43 in the negative.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is stricken out.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I move that, in place of the clause stricken out, we substitute the following:

"The convention takes recess for four hours, during which time the Committee on Contests holds open session, which all delegates are urged to attend."

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE BLOCK: That is the very thing voted out by the convention. A point of order.

COMRADE: Can the motion be amended?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think the motion is in order. It has been made and supported that the convention take a recess during the time the committee on contests is in session for the period of four hours, during which delegates and visitors are asked to attend.

COMRADE BLOCK: My point of order is that, substantially speaking, it's the very matter before the house that was just moved and stricken out.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The Chair will rule that it is not the same, for the reason that this specifically limits the time, and the other does not.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move to reduce the time to three hours.

COMRADE BRECKENRIDGE: I move that the motion and the amendment be laid on the table.

CHAIRMAN: STEDMAN: Those in favor of tabling will signify by the word "aye", and those opposing, "no." 63 votes are cast in favor of tabling, and 48 against it. The motion is tabled.

COMRADE: I ask for a roll call on the motion.

CHAIRMAN: A roll call must be called before the vote is taken by counting hands. We will now proceed to No. 7.

COMRADE WILSON: I move you that the convention instruct the credentials committee, when elected, to hold open sessions at all times.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It has been moved and supported that the committee on contests hold open sessions at all times. Are you ready for the question? (The motion was put to a vote, and unanimously carried.) The motion is carried. It will take the number of 6 in the order of business. The next is No. 7.

SECRETARY GERBER: No. 7 is as follows:

"7. Report and the consideration of the report of the Committee on Contests."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, it will stand adopted. (No objection.) It is adopted. No. 8 is be-

fore the house now.

SECRETARY GERBER: No. 8 is as follows:

"8. Report of the National Executive Committee."

COMRADE: I move that the order of business be transposed, No. 8 taking the place of No. 9, and 9 the place of 8,

COMRADE: I second it.

SECRETARY GERBER: No. 9 is as follows:

"9. Report of Special Committee on Contested Referendums."

COMRADE KRUSE: I move that 8 and 9 be combined, and 8 be changed to read, "Report of both National Executive Committees."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That is not an amendment. I will entertain it as a substitute.

COMRADE: Point of order. This convention knows of but one Executive Committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I want to know if he was referring to anything more than the committees mentioned in 8 and 9, and was referring to some other committee.

COMRADE KRUSE: No, I was not. I was referring to exactly what is mentioned in 8 and 9; first, the Social Committee on Contested Referendums which will involve, and the convention well knows, two committees, which claim to be the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Then, I shall sustain the point of order. The Chair rules that the Socialist Party has only

one Executive Committee up to the present time, (Applause) and that committee is the one under which this convention was called, meets and is now transacting business.

COMRADE KRUSE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I ask Comrade Kruse to yield the floor to me.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There is an appeal from the decision of the Chair. Your chairman is dead, except for one purpose, until a vote has been taken.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I would ask that the appellant yield for just a minute or two.

VICE-CHAIRMAN LEE: I have no power to do anything except to hear the Chairman and take the vote. Comrade Kruse has the floor as appellant.

COMRADE KRUSE: I appeal from this decision, largely on parliamentary grounds and on the ground of parliamentary procedure. Here is an order of business that is to be adopted. I moved an amendment to amalgamate these two sections, to aid the report of another body, as the chairman has stated, that is also vitally interested in this report, and in which the membership is also vitally interested. I maintain, comrades, that, in making this amendment, I took no stand for one committee or the other. But, if you had a committee on contested referendums, it acts somewhat in

the capacity of a jury, which reports to the convention here, which is really the judge of what its findings were. There are two sides to this case, and, although you may refuse to recognize one side or the other of that case, that do not remove either one side or the other. For this reason, I suggest that you must hear both sides, and the only way to round out this order of business and prevent it from being one-sided, and you are not going to solve your problem by looking at it in a one-sided way, I suggest that you hear both sides of the case, and at the same time that you hear the other side. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I have stated my reason, but, in further comment on it, I wish to call your attention to this: if the committee on credentials seats the delegates who have not been recognized, the other Executive Committee will then be entitled to report, and, by virtue of accepting it, it nullifies the existence of the Executive Committee under which we are acting in coming into session. There cannot be two, and, up until there is a report made to this convention recognizing the other, it has no place here as a committee. (Applause)

VICE-CHAIRMAN: We will now come to a vote upon the question of sustaining the decision of the Chair. Those who desire to sustain the decision of the Chair will be called on, first, to vote by a show of hands. Those who

desire to overrule the Chair will be called on, second, for a show of hands. The same tellers will count.

Upon a vote being taken, there were 90 votes to sustain the decision of the Chair, and 33 to overrule the decision of the Chair.

VICE-CHAIRMAN LEE: The ruling of the Chair is sustained.
(Applause)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It now recurs upon the motion to reverse the order of the reports of 8 and 9? Are you ready for the question? All in favor of reversing the order of business, 8 and 9, will raise their hands. All against, will do likewise.

There were 67 votes in favor of reversing the order of business, and 32 against.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The order, is therefore, reversed; 8 is and 9 is 8. The next order is the election of Standing Committees.

COMRADE WALDMAN: A point of information. Is there any ruling as to whether one delegate can serve on more than one committee?

COMRADE: There is a rule to that effect.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: No. 3 of the rules provides: "No delegate shall serve on more than one standing committee."

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that the size of the Committee on Constitution provided for in Sec. a of No. 10 be changed

to 11.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It has been changed from 7 members to 11.

COMRADE BERGER: I move that the membership of every standing committee be changed to 11. In that way you will keep the entire convention busy and interested, more or less. Eleven is not too large a committee for the convention, and they can do good work.

COMRADE: Will Comrade Berger accept that with the exception that the Committee on Resolutions and Party Principles be increased to 15?

COMRADE BERGER: All right.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Unless you can do this unanimously, we have to back up; because you will have to take up each committee separately. If it is the unanimous sentiment, you can dispose of it. It stands now as follows: A motion is made that all committees be 11 except the Committee on Resolutions and Party Principles, which is to be 15, and the Committee on Press 3. Is there any single objection to it? You may proceed with the amendment of (a), Committee on Constitution, 7 members, making it 11. Are you ready for the question?

COMRADE SEHL: I want to speak against increasing it from 7 to 11, for this reason: there are delegates at this convention who are not here to work, and, if we are going to in-

crease all these committees to 11 and 15, you can hardly hope to get some of these people on these committees. I know it is possible to have too many people on a committee, if you want to get any work done, and I want to see the thing stand just as it is. I appreciate the fact that there are people here who would like to see their names on committees.

COMRADE BERGER: I am a great believer in the right of minority, giving the right to express opinions in the committee, and fight it out in the committee. You will find out that even Kruse and delegates of that kind have gotten ideas recently. I am in favor of making the committees 11.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I want to call the attention of the delegates to the spirit behind the sentiment of the comrade, and that's all. (Pointing)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Are you ready for the question?

COMRADE COLDWELL: I wish to make an amendment to the motion, that the motion read that the Committee on Constitution shall consist of five members.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That is an amendment to the amendment.

COMRADE BROWN: I perfectly agree with the comrade who wants it 11, and says that he thinks possibly there will be some that don't want to work. I agree with him perfectly, because, if it happens to get up to the people, it might do the same thing.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In the absence of a rule, I shall be reluctant to recognize a motion for the precious question. If there is no discussion of the motion, I shall put that before the convention .

COMRADE COLDWELL: I wish to talk on my amendment to the motion. My purpose in amending the motion, to have the committee consist of five instead of seven was for the purpose of eliminating as much work as possible. We have had too much committee work in the past. I believe that all the committee should do should simply be to arrange and present to the convention and let the convention decide. I agree that the smaller a committee we have, the more we will be able to do. I believe that our comrades or delegates here should be given an opportunity to serve on those committees, and they should report to this convention, and let the convention thrash it out, and not in the committee. Then it will be easier for them to act together and render a report. It's easier for five than eleven.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: This is probably a desirable condition, but one we cannot possibly afford, particularly under the circumstances of this convention. We do have differences of opinion. Some are real; most of them are imaginary. And, it is best to have as large a number of people, and as great a variety of opinions on the various

committees as possible. Besides, you can depend upon it that, while these committees are in session, there wont be much business done at the convention, as a whole, and it is best, then, to engage just as many comrades as possible on the committees.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: I urge that the number on the committees named in the program as drawn up would be the better number. A large committee is not fit to do good work. And, too small a committee is, perhaps, also not desirable. We don't want to withdraw too many delegates from the sessions of the convention to engage in committee discussion. On the other hand, we don't want to have too few. Therefore, I think that the number mentioned here, seven for Constitution, seven for Resolutions and Party Principles, and the other number named here are perhaps more desirable.

COMRADE HALLER: I am in favor of the motion as put, and opposed to the amendment, for this reason: I think that, if you have the large committees in a convention of this sort, there will be less danger of many members in attending, where the committee has to report at a later day. Furthermore, I think, if it is true, as the comrade said, if there is some members on the committee who don't work, that will be so as to a committee of seven as well as to a committee of eleven. If they should be recalcitrant in their duty, a quorum of the committee could perform the work. An ad-

ditional reason that I have, right in addition to and supplementary to what Comrade Berger has said, and to all of which I agree, if you have a large committee, there will be less danger of one man dominating it. We want to bring out all the different views, and have an opportunity to discuss them before the committee. Discussion before the convention on those questions cannot be had with as great advantage as before the committee, because the time for debate is limited. Before the committee, they can have longer time to discuss matters, and then have their right to five minutes' speaking in the convention just the same. I think, on the whole, we ought to adopt the motion as made, and reject the amendment.

COMRADE BLOCK: I rise to the previous question.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We will proceed to take a vote. I don't suppose it is necessary to put the previous question. Motion is made to make the Committee on Constitution to read 11 instead of 7 members. The amendment to the amendment, five. You will now vote on the amendment to the amendment, providing for a committee of five.

A vote being taken, the amendment to the amendment was lost.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It now recurs upon the amendment to make it a committee of 11.

A vote being taken, the amendment was carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The next is (b)

COMRADE PANKEN: I move that the Committee on Resolutions and Party Principles shall be 15.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE PANKEN: I think this committee will have a great deal of work to do. It will probably have to divide the itself into various sub-committees, and take up various questions and resolutions, and then meet as a whole for the purpose of passing upon these various resolutions. If you leave it as a committee of seven, the question of party principles will have to be discussed, and the question of various resolutions will come up, and they will have no possible chance in the sub-committees to discuss each and every subject separately.

COMRADE KRUSE: As an amendment to the amendment, I move that Section (c) be added to (b), and the committee to consist of 15.

COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The motion is made that (b) and (c) be consolidated in the duties and functions of the committee. There seems to be no objection. If there is no objection---

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: I object.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There is nothing before the house, ex-

cept whether you will have it 15 or 7.

COMRADE LEE: Do I understand you to rule that it is not possible for this convention to consolidate at this time?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I mean to say that the motion is not proper at this time. The motion to consolidate should come before a motion to fix the number of the committee.

COMRADE LEE: At any future time is it possible to consolidate?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You can elect two committees, and consolidate them after you have elected them.

COMRADE KRUSE: Here is an amendment offered, merely changing the wording here, 15 instead of 7. Along comes another amendment which says we shall add to this section here, Resolutions and Party Principles and Pan American and International Relations, making the committee to consist of 15. Do I understand you to rule that I cant make an amendmen of that kind?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: wo. If you have fixed your number on that committee, you strike out (c) and make those duties the committee work of (b) or of (d). Are you ready for the question.

A vote being taken, the motion was carried unanimously'.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Now, Mr. Kruse.

COMRADE KRUSE: I move that the duties included under (c)

be added to the Committee on Resolutions and Party Principles provided by (b)

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: As a matter of fact, I wasn't very well inclined to have this committee consolidated. It seems to me it is two different things. Now, you want to add another thing, quite distinct and separate from the one we had before. The Committee on Pan-American and International Relations means that you have to have this committee familiar with this particular subject, a new one before the membership of this body. Now, you want these same people, who are entrusted with the resolutions and party principles, to be well versed on a subject which is practically a new one, and may be foreign to the one they are elected for.

COMRADE LEE: I entirely disagree with Comrade Bronstein on that point. I don't know how the subject of Pan-American and International Relations of the Socialist Party can be considered as something entirely separate and distinct, from what Comrade Bronstein has referred to. I don't know how it is possible at this time to make a sharp and clear distinction between the domestic and the worldwide affairs of the socialist movement. I know there are some things purely foreign; I know there are some things purely domestic; but, on the other hand, I think some of the

most vital questions that will come before us are involved equally with foreign and with domestic policies and conditions. It is for that reason that I have seconded Comrade Kruse's motion, and give to this committee, under the head of (b), the functions which were assigned to the committee under the head of (d) and consolidate the two committees.

SECRETARY GERBER: I want to move as an amendment that Section (c) be divided; that International Relations be attached to (b) and be the Committee on Resolutions, Party Principles and International Relations. There should be a separate committee on Pan-American relations.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: An amendment to the amendment has been made and supported, that we turn over all the duties under (c) to (b), except Pan-American relations.

COMRADE COOK: I, personally, would like to see this convention to take the matter up before us in the most kindly and also in the most efficient manner that we possibly can. The principles involved in regard to these two resolutions are absolutely bound together by the strongest ties that you can conceive of, and I urge that you use judgment; I urge the combination, in order that we might use our best judgment in selecting the most competent committee, so that it can take up these problems and bring them before this body in the

most efficient way that it can conceive of. I urge that the original motion be adopted entirely.

COMRADE PANKEN: It seems to me that we cannot separate Pan-American affairs and International Relations. The question resolves itself down to this: either we combine (b) and (c) completely, or we don't combine them at all. There is nothing gained by separating the matter of Pan-American affairs from general international relations. I am heartily in favor of the combination of (b) and (c), because, after all, the matter of Pan-American affairs and International Relations will be covered by resolutions to come before the Resolutions Committee.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I am in favor of the last amendment made by Comrade Gerber, and for this reason: I believe that the work of the committee on Pan-American relations will be different than the work of the Committee on International Relations. In the Pan-American committee, a new situation will arise. In Pan-America, we have the largest socialistic party. We represent the largest nation. We have not, as yet, on this continent made a serious attempt at bringing together all socialists and labor elements, excepting the one brought together by Samuel Gompers, and that was unsatisfactory. I believe that a committee of this convention shall especially address itself to this problem; not

merely to adopt resolutions upon the Pan-American situation, but also to devise ways and means for a practical get-together of all the socialists and labor elements of the entire Latin-American people; and, for this reason, we ought to have a separate and distinct committee, distinct from the theoretical committee on resolutions and platform; a committee of tactics, of get-together, a committee of action. I am in favor of the last amendment.

COMRADE KRUSE: I rise to oppose that last amendment, and what has been said before covers that point. It shows the usual attitude on our part to consider Pan-American relations entirely distinct from international. Furthermore, I can see a wild scramble on the part of the delegates to this convention to get on that committee on Pan-American relations. Either this thing must be out together as a whole, or it should be divided, as the committee and as the rules suggest. I believe that, just as at St. Louis we had one major problem to deal with, and all the other things were just side-lights of that major problem. So, we should have an added committee representing, if possible, just as it did at St. Louis, every shade of opinion within the Socialist Party, and have that committee get together as far as possible. For that reason, I think we should combine the whole business; It can't be divided.

I urge the delegates to vote down the amendment to the amendment, and vote for the motion.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I am inclined to agree with Comrade Kruse, that it is very difficult to sub-divide the committee, if we want to sub-divide it in any way other than it has already been sub-divided. We want to avoid duplication of work, and we want to avoid having resolutions of the same nature coming from different committees. The Committee on Resolutions, under the classification of (b), would undoubtedly have some resolutions referring to Pan-American affairs, and also to International Relations. And, also, I can't see how we can separate Party Principles from International Relations. It seems to me the best policy is to have the very best committee that we can have, consisting of all shades of opinion, and a large committee, and combine both (b) and (c) together.

COMRADE EDLIN: One powerful reason for consolidation is this: a member cannot be on more than one committee. It is essential that the delegates most qualified act on these particular committees, and there is danger, if you have two committees, that some delegates who are most qualified to sit on those committees, will not be able to. For that reason, I think you ought to consolidate them.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It has been moved and supported that the duties of the proposed Committee on Pan-American and Inter-

national Relations be conferred upon the Committee on Resolutions and Party Principles, and an amendment was made to eliminate Pan-American relations. You will now vote on the amendment. All in favor of striking out Pan-American for this purpose will signify by saying "aye," the contrary "no." The amendment is lost. It now recurs upon the motion which I have stated. All in favor of the motion will signify by saying "aye," the contrary "no." The motion is adopted. We now come to (d), Committee on Finance, 5 members.

COMRADE BERGER: That's a very important problem; exceedingly important. I move you that it be made 11 instead of 5.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

A vote being taken, the motion carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Now comes the Committee on Economic Organization, 5 members.

COMRADE KARLIN: I move that it be 11 instead of 5.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE BEARAK: I move that the committee consist of 11 members, and each one of the 11 to be a member of an economic organization.

COMRADE: A point of order. Now we are deciding the number of the committee, and not the qualifications. The qualifications for members to serve on any committee is prescribed in our Constitution and By-laws.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will recognize the point of order, but, if this is adopted, I will recognize a motion as to the qualifications. Are you ready for the motion?

A vote being taken, the motion carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Now, I will recognize your motion.

COMRADE BEARAK: I move that the members of the Committee of Economic Organization be members of an economic organization.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is now moved, and has been supported, that the eleven members of the Committee on Economic Organization shall be affiliated with and be members of an economic organization.

COMRADE KARLIN: I believe this convention would not be justified in passing a motion of this kind, for the reason that, when it comes to a matter of understanding the labor movement, there are persons in this delegation who are not members of a labor union, but who are consulted by labor unions with regard to practical and theoretical matters in connection with the union. Moreover, I don't see why a member of this delegation should be denied of his right as a member of the Socialist Party because he does not happen to be the member of a union. You never find in a labor union that they will deny a member rights because he does not happen to be a member of a certain political party. His

knowledge in regard to labor unions is aside from whether he is a member of a labor union. There are thousands of members of labor unions who don't know the first principles about labor unions and what progressive unionism consists of.

COMRADE COOK: I don't think any one is more interest in this committee and in having this committee take up the problems in the proper spirit than I am. I have studied over the proceedings of past conventions, and thus far they were never limited to the members of economic organizations. The large majority at other conventions have registered their wish to have this done, and it has been ignored. I think it is absolutely imperative that only such of our membership shall be put on the committee who have the understanding of personal contact with the organizations, and can represent them from actual and personal affiliation with the unions.

COMRADE NAGLE: In the matter of who shall constitute the committee, as I understand it, no one can be elected a member of this committee unless he is a member of some economic organization. Is that the motion? I so understand it. Now, the question that presents itself to my mind is this: Are we a political organization or, are we an economic organization? If we are simply an economic organization, then the motion is undoubtedly proper; but, if we are a political party, every man that belongs to this political

party has an equal and perfect right to be a candidate for a member of that committee. And, that is the only point I wish to raise. I am here represented a state, or part of a state, where our constituency and our membership are largely farmers, and we have no organization, no economic organization; and, I want to know if you are going to shut us out from a committee of that kind. If you set this precedent now that no man can become a member of a committee unless he belongs to an economic organization, why, the farmers might come in here and we will say, "We haven't allowed any of you fellows on this committee, unless you belong to our organization."

COMRADE SOLOMON: I don't see how there can be any serious disagreement as to the right of any member of this body to serve on the committee that we are considering. I think Comrade Cook would be right, if he understood exactly what we had in mind. He is looking beyond the appointment of this committee to an entity which would probably show up in this convention as propaganda in the labor movement. I see no reason why we should make that distinction against members of the committee we are about to appoint. I, therefore, think, as far as the committee that we are now considering is concerned, it should consist of such members as may be in the majority here, without whether they are members of a particular union or not. As far as the further committee is concerned, I believe it should be exclusive of members of labor unions?

COMRADE SEHL: I rise to support the idea that it would be advisable to have this committee composed of only those who are members of some economic organization. I wish to say, in answer to the question as to whether this is a political organization or union, that it is a political organization, but, in the past, we have made it our business to tell the economic organizations a great deal about what they shall do, and we have had people formulate our policy, and, because of their lack of contact with the economic organization, they have not formulated a decent policy, a policy that has gotten us anywhere. I concede that there are certain organizations where the farmer would be far more efficient to serve on the committee than the member of some industrial organization should be able to serve on it. I believe this is a matter of efficiency. The idea of using people such as lawyers, who take questions of the unions up to the employer, I don't believe even those people know so much about the tactics and the policies of the economic organization, and the Socialist Party has men who have been in the labor movement all their lives, and made a special study of it. I hope that this committee will do something besides passing resolutions; that they will do something that will make the Socialist Party more than a resolution-passing organization to tell what they ought to do. The trouble has been that we have had too many people outside of the labor union to come in who don't know anything about

it. (Applause)

COMRADE SHEAHAN: Although I am a member of a labor organization, I still don't believe we know it all. I know that a good many of the statistics we union men carry around in our pockets and under our hat that we are getting from people who study labor organizations from a scientific standpoint. Now, this committee is merely to study our proposition on economic organization. The later committee is a different one. I don't believe, as the comrade said about the farmer. There is not one farmer in fifteen thousand that understands the scientific method of carrying on farming, or the farming question in general. Now, confining it to members of labor organizations, as a whole, I don't believe it is wise, and I think we ought to get the scientific classes in this proposition, and no other.

COMRADE WEISS: The question of whether the motion as put should be adopted depends on another question, which has not exactly been stated. If the object of this committee is to formulate policies and adopt principles as to specific forms of organization, if you are to exclude members from that committee who are not members of economic organizations, you must go one step farther. Because, if you elect on that committee members of organizations who hold pay jobs, it is possible, though, perhaps, not probable, that their interest in maintaining the existence of the particular orga-

nization to which they owe their living, may influence their motives in adopting party principles, so that it would be logical, in excluding members who are not members of an economic organization, that you should also exclude members who are not working at their trades.

COMRADE MARCUS: As I understand, there is a committee to be appointed to formulate certain policies of the activity of the Socialist Party towards the Press. We have had that program as long as I can remember; for twenty-five years, and still we have had lawyers, doctors and professors, and all people who did not understand the movement. The only man who can judge and the only man who can understand and speak intelligently of the inner workings of a trade union is the man in the union, who belongs to an economic organization. I remember in 1912, when the National Convention appointed a farmer's committee. There was some motion made, and it was logical. I don't believe any one of them understood anything about farming, who discussed the farming program. When it comes to practical work, we know absolutely nothing. All the trouble we had in the Socialist Party movement was simply by those people who were brain workers, and mostly who had a lack of the understanding of the labor movement.

COMRADE CRAWFORD: I heard it said a while ago that there was comrades here who didn't want to work. I wish he would say

there were comrades who didn't want to talk. I would like to suggest, in making the selections for this committee, when you make the nominations, that you should specify what the nominee is working at, and then we could let each and every delegate choose them as he wished. I just offer this as a suggestion.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: The theory of limiting the membership of this committee to labor union members is self-evident, because every one knows that all the wisdom and knowledge does not happen to lie with those who have union cards in their pockets. I have a union card in my pocket, and I have worked on a trade for eighteen years. And, so far as the practical, detailed working of my trade is concerned, the chances are others know a great deal more than I do. But, there are people here, who do not have cards of any trade union in their pockets, who are constantly on the firing-line all the time, either with one or a dozen or twenty-five labor organizations, and go through their struggles much more than a good many of the so-called rank and file, who simply pay dues, because they have to pay dues in their trade unions. I think it would be foolish to limit it to the union.

COMRADE PETZILT: This is a very important proposition; at least, I think so. This has brought me to the convention.

I have been in the labor movement for the past 25 years, and I want to see this or another convention in Chicago, at this or another session, go on record and declare themselves (reform) for an industrial form of organization. (A pplause) I am not going to say that we only should have labor men or those who hold cards in their pockets on that committee. We don't know it all. And, we may not be in a position to put everything down that we do know. So, I am in favor of having men who are doing actual work every day in the year.

COMRADE HENRY: I ask for the previous question.

COMRADE: I want the Chair to rule as to what are the duties of this committee. There's all kinds of confusion. One wants resolutions on the A.F. of L. v. I.W.W., and the other wants something else.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I would assume this committee would report a resolution with reference to defining our attitude towards the industrial movement. I am not stating all they might do. . I suppose they put no limit in here, Kruse, so that they can go the limit. The previous question has been called for.

COMRADE : In defense of my motion, I just want to say this: I am also a member of an economic organization, and I have made the motion once and for all, so that we will not be talking about what the trade unions want, and how they can capture the working organization in the trade movement; that

once and for all we will have the committee to form a plan of our activities in so far as to get the workers organized in the trade union movements. You know that in every place in this country, and in every hall and meeting place, where socialists gather, one of the things we talk about is our economic program and our relationship towards the union movement. There is no use of saying, because I have a card in my pocket, that I am fit and another person who has not a card is not fit. This is true, that there are comrades who are in the firing line every day of the week. I wish that the committee would formulate a plan, first, of our stand towards economic organizations, and, second, what kind of propaganda we shall carry on within the organization; and, it ought to be a committee made up of trade unions, who are from within, and who know the desires and the wants of the organized workers of this country.

Cries for the question.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I would entertain it, but I supposed that the mover of the motion would have the closing.

COMRADE HALLER: The only reason I want to speak on this motion is because I consider it important. I ought to express what I think, for the reason that for eight years I was an active member of a labor union. After that period, for 25 years I have been an attorney and adviser of labor

unions. And, I want to say to you that the motion ought to be adopted, that this committee ought to be made up of the best men and brains in the trade unions. I want to state that it is not a question as to whether a member of this convention has the right to be on a committee or not. It is a question as to whether we have the right to have the best service and the best light on the most perplexing questions that will come before us. It seems to me that we ought to have this committee composed of men who have had actual experience in the movement.

The motion being put to a viva voce vote, the chairman declared that the ayes seemed to have it. A division was called, and the vote was recorded as showing 49 for and 48 against. Cries for a further division were heard.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We will now proceed to the next order of business, "Committee on Press, 3 members."

Cries for a further division, and roll call.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The roll call should be called before the vote is taken by hand. Do you want the vote recorded?

COMRADE PANKEN: State the proposition again, so that the members can understand what they are voting on.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The motion is that persons who serve on this committee shall be members of some industrial organization. Those in favor of the motion will say "aye" and

those opposed "no."

48 votes recorded for the motion, and 63 against.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The motion is lost. The secretary will record the last vote as a reconsideration of the first. The next order is "Committee on Bress, 3 members."

On motion, this was adopted by a unanimous vote.

COMRADE: What was the idea in not giving a roll call on the last motion?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Because you should have called for it before it was announced. The rule is that a roll call must be called for before the decision is announced. Maybe the Chair is wrong, and I will take the consensus, and we will consider that the law. All in favor of insisting that a roll call be demanded before the vote is announced, signify by saying "aye" and those opposed "no."

The vote was in the affirmative.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The next order is "Committee on Propaganda and Organization, 5 members."

COMRADE BERGER: I move that it be made 11 members.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

Motion unanimously carried.

COMRADE KRUSE: I rise to make a motion that the Committee on Organization be instructed, in addition to its other du-

ties, to investigate into the cause of the unrest and dissatisfaction with and within the National office of the party.

COMRADE: I second it.

Motion unanimously carried.

COMRADE ENGDHAL: I move to insert as Paragraph 11 , the nominations of candidates for president and vice-president for the presidential campaign of 1920.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE: A point of information. I have heard mention made of the fact that we were to nominate candidates for president and vice-president. As I see it, if ~~we~~ it were a question of nominating candidates for president and vice-president for the ensuing year---

COMRADE: I rise to a point of order.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: : The Chair rules that the membership of the Party at large are entitled to know that fact, if it was to take place in this convention, and, unless I am overruled, I shall sustain the point of order. Where it states "any other business, " the Chair will rule that "any other business" means business consistent with the general purpose for which the call was issued and of a kindred nature. In other words, I rule that the membership at large, if they contemplated the nomination of presidential candidates, would possibly have acted different than they have, and there certainly would be some discussion in branches and

in locals and States.

COMRADE ENGDHAL: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

VICE-CHAIRMAN LEE: There is an appeal from the Chair.

COMRADE ENGDHAL: I make this motion under instructions from an overwhelming majority of the Illinois delegation, supposed by the Illinois State delegate committee; also feeling that this question is in the minds, if not in the hearts, of the great masses of the membership of the American Socialist Party. We are gathered here in convention, in extraordinary convention, if you may refer to it in that way. It costs a large amount of money, and when we go away from here the convention will be in debt. The chances are that we won't have another convention until the national presidential campaign ~~is~~ is practically over in 1920. I felt that the National Executive Committee, or whoever it was drew up these rules, ought to have inserted, as one of the orders of business, the nomination of our candidates for president and for vice-president. Don't let us be carried away with some of the things that we should like to believe. We have listened to the speeches here this morning, but I want to say that the Socialist Party of the United States has not remained true to international revolutionary socialism; it has not stood true to the St. Louis proclamation during the months of the war. (Applause) It reminds me to a certain extent of the person who, when a great storm sweeps

past, seeks shelter under the bed somewhere, in a dark retreat, and then, when the storm has passed, when the storm is over, comes out from his retreat and shakes himself and feels that he has faced the storm, and that he really has some courage. Let us feel, comrades, that the storm that swept over the United States during the recent war is at last over, for a short time, because I feel that another storm is brewing, and we will have to find out now, we will have to settle now, where and how we are going during the next six or eight or twelve months. During the last storm that swept over this nation, during the war, I feel that there is one comrade that stood out and invited the lightning and bade the thunders to roll on, and he, our comrade, is now incarcerated in prison down in Atlanta, Ga., our Eugene Victor Debs. (Applause.) Is there any doubt about the fact that you want him as your presidential candidate in 1920? (Applause) We here in Illinois are agitating that question in our campaigns for over a year. We stood steadfast and fought and agitated in our literature, in our propaganda and in our meetings. We have said that we want Eugene V. Debs for our candidate for president in 1920. The Party is entering today upon a stage that some of you choose to refer to as historic. We are going to adopt a statement of principles. We are going to adopt a platform and a program for the months to come. I say that, in doing that, our work is not complete unless we nominate

presidential and vice-presidential candidates for 1920. Let us go ahead and nominate; let us go ahead and put our comrade in prison as our candidate for president upon a program and upon a set of principles that we will be proud to have him stand, and then we will ~~xxxx~~ go finally and get international revolutionary socialism here in the United States of America. (Applause)

VICE-CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Stedman has the floor to state the position of the Chair.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I don't intend to reply, because the proposition is very simple; and that is whether this convention should undertake matters which were not contained in the call, and which were not even intimated to the members as a subject for disposition. In a matter as prominent as that, and of such importance as that, I assume that the members should have been acquainted with. It was not a minor matter; it is not a trivial matter. And, for that reason, if it was not mentioned, I submit that it was not intended that the persons in electing delegates had that in mind, and I haven't known of a single delegate who has been instructed upon the subject, which would indicate that that was in their minds. Other subjects have been brought up by Comrade Engdhal. One is that our Party has not been sufficiently revolutionary. I submit that the man who had absolute control of the socialist propaganda work, of the leaflets and

the papers throughout the war, should have intimated what was within the mind and the heart of the man who was doing the principal part of the penmanship of that work. (Applause) And, as a member of that committee, I never, for once, have listened to the suggestion from the lips of Comrade Engdhal suggesting a change or a revision of policy during the entire period, and I am sorry that the light that he has had all this time was at no time given to the humbler members of the committee, and especially to one that he has met as frequently as he met me.

In regard to nominations, I resent the proposition that, because we do not believe that this is the time under our call to nominate Debs at this convention, we are, therefore, against him. That was indirectly and cunningly made in the suggestion. I want to say that I stood by Debs as a member of the industrial organization, A.I.U., before you were in the movement. (Applause) And, I challenge you or any other man to assert that your personal fealty to him is any greater than mine. But, I do say at the present time, being in the penitentiary, it would be too dangerous for his safety and his life today to place him in nomination, and I tell you I should oppose that for a month or two, at least. If it must come, all well and good, but this is not the tactical time to pursue any set course as that, even on the merits of the controversy. (Applause)

VICE-CHAIRMAN LEE: Nothing is in order but the vote, upon the question of sustaining the Chair. The same tellers will please vote 97 for and 18 against, the Chair was sustained.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Under the Rules of Procedure, we will take up No. 1:

"Members of the National Executive Committee and Fraternal Delegates from the Federations and Y.P.S.L. shall have a voice, but no vote unless they are duly elected delegates from their respective states."

COMRADE FLOATEN: On all the standing committees, I desire to move that on all the standing committees only one delegates from any one--

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That comes up later for discussion. On No. 1, is there any objection? If not, it will stand adopted.

COMRADE TENNYSON: I want to ask a question. What disposition has been made of No. 11?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: No. 11 is, "Adjournment, or recess to give committees time to report." I will entertain a motion for a recess, but I think, if we can, we ought to dispose of the rules, which are relatively short.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I move that this body now adjourn for a period of two hours.

COMRADE BIRCHER: Rule No. 11 should have been taken up,

because of the fact that we are now adopting the rules for the convention.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think the correction is proper. I overlooked it, because I thought that the time was provided for in the Rules of Procedure following. I think there is a provision for adjournment here. There is in No. 5. You will find your recess periods are already covered. No. 1 has been adopted. Can we turn to No. 2.

"2. Speeches shall be limited to five minutes except by unanimous consent, provided that the mover of any motion may have five minutes in which to close the debate."

On motion, No. 2 was adopted unanimously.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I move an amendment to No. 3, that no more than two members from each State shall serve on one committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: No. 3 reads:

"3. No delegate shall serve on more than one standing committee. In the event of election to more than one committee, the delegate shall announce the name of the committee he or she elects to serve."

Now, your amendment is that not more than two members from any one state shall serve upon a committee. Let us dispose of the original motion that no one shall serve except on one committee. Are you ready for the question?

No. 3 was unanimously adopted.

COMRADE: I move that only three from one state shall serve upon a committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The amendment to the original motion was that two only should serve from a state, and that is amended to read three.

COMRADE NOONAN: I think this is rather unfair. I believe that we have delegates from certain states that will equal, by five or six or seven times, the delegates from other states. Is it proper or justice to maintain that the delegates from the states with only one or two should have the privilege of selecting three, and the delegates from states with fifteen or twenty should have only the same amount of delegates? I think it is unfair.

COMRADE KARLIN: In supporting the amendment for not more than three, I want to point out to the delegates that, whereas the executive committee fixed the number for each committee at about five and not more than three, These delegates changed it to 11 in most cases, and in one case to fifteen. So that, if the same proportion is maintained, the delegates should vote for the amendment of not more than three shall be on any one committee from any one state.

COMRADE KRUSE: I support the amendment particularly for the reason that we have increased the size of our committees. This is a national convention, and not a state convention. We must remember that the principal work of this convention is to

take care of the work of the socialistic movement nationally, and not with respect to any one branch or any one part of the country. I think that all parts of the country should be represented, and we ought to arrive at this thing on a national, or, we might say, even an international basis. So, I would suggest the amendment be adopted of not more than three. Then it will give the socialists of any one state greater opportunity to scramble for a place upon a committee, if they so desire, and give the other states a chance to get their people on.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Are you ready for the question?

The question being put to a viva voce vote, the Chair declared the motion carried. In response to a request for a division, the motion was again put, and carried, 78 for and 33 against, and the Chair declared the motion carried.

On motion, the Convention now stands adjourned until 3.30 o'clock this afternoon, it now being 2.00 P.M.

August 30th, 1919.

Saturday. 3.30 P.M.

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Stedman.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: When we adjourned this morning, you had under consideration the Rules of Procedure. The 4th clause reads as follows:

"4. The first order of business of each morning session shall be the reading of the minutes of the previous session unless upon motion the reading shall be dispensed with." If there is no objection, it will stand adopted. Seeing none, it is adopted.

The next is No. 5.

"5. Each day's session shall be opened by the chairman of the session of the previous day, who, forty-five minutes after the calling of the convention to order, shall conduct the election of the chairman and vice-chairman for that day."

The reason for that, I assume--although I do not know, but I speculate that it is probable--that the desire was to give the chairman of the previous day the chairmanship for the purpose of conducting the election and disposing of the minutes. I do not know of any other reason. "Whoever drew it may be able to say what was in their minds at the time.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I drew it. It is very simple. That simply meant to make sure that the convention was in order when they proceeded to the immediate work delegated to them. By that time, the delegates were in and you were ready for business.

On motion, this section was adopted.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The next section is No. 6:

"6. Thirty minutes before the adjournment of the afternoon session the chairman shall give opportunity for the submission or introduction of resolutions or communications relating to party policies or principles. Such documents shall be referred to appropriate committees without discussion."

If there is no objection, it will stand adopted.

No. 7 is as follows:

"All resolutions or communications which are referable to any special or standing committee must be submitted not later than the close of the third day's session, except by unanimous consent."

If there is no objection, it will stand adopted.

No. 8 is as follows:

"8. After the fourth day's session no action to reconsider any previous action of the convention shall be considered unless two-thirds of the original number of delegates are present."

If there is no objection, it will stand adopted.

COMRADE WILSON: How do you know there wasn't any objection.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There wasn't any.

COMRADE WILSON: You don't know.

The question was put to the house, and carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Mr. Wilson, you didn't vote.

The last section is No. 9:

"9. Except as otherwise, provided in these rules, Roberts' Rules of Order shall govern the parliamentary procedure of this convention."

If there is no objection, it will stand adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: I want to offer an addition to the rules, as follows:

"A roll-call vote shall be taken on any question, if desired, by a majority vote of the convention."

We have had this morning several calls for a roll-call. There ought to be some rule by which we may have a roll-call vote.

MR. LAFIN: I amend it to read, on the demand of 30 delegates.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It has been amended to read that the roll-call shall be enforced upon the demand of 30 delegates.

COMRADE BERGER: If you make it 30 delegates, you will have to make a roll-call just for the purpose of interfering with the work of the convention; but, if you make it 50, then any matter of importance can easily get 50 hands. Make it 50, and it can't interfere with the work of the convention, and yet you can have a roll-call whenever the occasion demands. I move to make it 50.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The original motion is for a majority, the amendment for 30 and the amendment to the amendment, 50. You are now voting on the amendment to the amendment.

COMRADE NOONAN: It seems to me that, in order to vote

intelligently on this, we should know the number of delegates, and see what percentage 30 makes, and what percentage 50 makes.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There is some 180 delegates.

COMRADE NOONAN: I move as a substitute that one-third of the delegates constitute the number to call the roll.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You mean those who are recognized now, or those that may be recognized after the report comes in?

COMRADE NOONAN: Those in the convention at any time.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE: Point of order.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Is it a substitute? You have a motion, an amendment and an amendment to the amendment, and a substitute is in order.

COMRADE: Under Roberts' Rules of Order, a substitute is not in order. They only allow an amendment and amendment to the amendment. They don't allow a substitute motion.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think you are right.

COMRADE BERGER: I withdraw my motion.

COMRADE LAFIN: I accept it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The amendment to the amendment has been withdrawn, and accepted by the mover of the amendment. The amendment to the amendment now stands, one-third of the delegates shall ~~ask~~ ask for a roll-call.

COMRADE ZIMMERMAN: Let us be frank. If we are going to have

a roll-call, make it possible to have a roll-call. If you don't want a roll-call, you may as well have a motion that none be permitted. A one-third is just as well as a motion that no roll-call shall be permitted on this floor. We have seen divisions during the morning. And, I think in fairness to the delegates that we should have 30, which will give us an opportunity to express our sentiments and record them, so that the rank and file may know how we voted. I am not pleading to have it done. I want it, as a matter of equity.

COMRADE CLAESSENS: The comrades in the minority have more than one-third. What's the use of begging for something that is entirely unnecessary. You easily have more than one-third. What is the use of going further? Why not be fair?

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I believe that it is the desire of this convention to give the minorities the greatest opportunity to express itself, and I don't believe that any delegate is afraid to go down on roll-call on any matter that comes before this convention. But, this convention, nevertheless, must safeguard itself against obstruction tactics which have been used in the party and throughout the country. I want to say that, when any matter of any importance requires a vote, the whole convention, every delegate here, whatever his opinion may be, will stand in favor of a roll-call. But, we want to guard against putting the convention in the position of having all its work blocked by obstructionist tactics, which have been

used and have been used successfully throughout the country. We must safeguard our business of carrying on the convention, and, at the same time, be fair to the minority, and give a roll-call on any question of importance.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I hope that every delegate here, right and left, will vote for the 30 amendment. As far as I am concerned, I say that the minority of this convention is small. They have a perfect right to be on record on any of these important questions. As far as obstruction goes, if they were mind enough to want things to come your way or my way, I would not want to ask anything better than the tactics that my comrade Berger forces. We are here united as never before, ready for battle as never before, because we have had these tactics handed us for the last six months and have grown desperate, and every man should quit and come on the job. My friend is too sensible to use those tactics here. They are not fools, and they know themselves that that kind of tactics will hurt the, and in the end will only arouse us as we have never been aroused before. Let's take chances on fair play. I say if the minority had only five or six, they have a perfect right to be recorded and compel us to be on record, so that the rank and file may know where we are at.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: Comrade Goebel's statement sounds very nice, but the amendment is a great deal more fair to the minority than the stated 30. The amendment gives them a larger portion of the delegates than 30. And, as you increase

the size of the delegation through contested seats, their proportion will increase the same. So that, if you want fairness, vote for the amendment.

COMRADE QUINLAN: I understand that the custom has been in this convention to allow for roll-call vote. I understand it has been a matter of record for 25 years in the socialist movement, and during my own connection with it of 20 years that has been true, as I understand it, for any member to go on record when he casts his vote for or against a question. Why nullify the roll-call altogether, when the member has a right to go on record?

COMRADE GERBER: I want to say, as the mover, that I am ready to accept the amendment of one-third in preference to a majority, but I want to say that I was promoted in this because we saw this thing worked in New York, where they held us up for four hours on a motion for roll-call. We are here from all over the United States. Most of us have to get back and be on the job, whether we are working for the Party or for the employer. We cannot afford to stay here. Some people may be here and able to stay here until Christmas Day; the majority cannot. If I had the confidence that a minority of this convention is not going to hold this convention up, I would be in favor of having a roll-call vote just upon the request of one delegate. I am not afraid to go on record, but, we don't want to hold this convention up

because somebody wants to hold it up for days. Every roll-call will take you half an hour.

COMRADE WILSON: I move the previous question.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

The previous question being put to a vote, it was carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It now recurs upon the motion of 30.

COMRADE GERBER: No. The original motion was for a majority. Then, there was an amendment for 30, and there was an amendment to an amendment for 50, and then a substitute for one-third. Comrade Berger, the mover of the amendment for 50, accepted the substitute for one-third, and so did the mover of the original motion accept that. So, I suppose the original motion and the other motions in the order they were made would be 30, and one-third would be the amendment.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The vote shall be taken upon the request of one-third of the delegates.

COMRAD FLOATEN: Does that mean 30 delegates or 30 present?

COMRADE GERBER: 30 delegates.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You are not voting on that now; but voting on one-third.

COMRADE DAVIDOW: Does that mean of the delegates present, at the convention meeting, or the entire delegation?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The entire amount of the delegates.

A viva voce vote was taken, with 74 for and 46 against.

CHAIRMAN:STEDMAN: The substitute motion or the amendment to the amendment, whichever the secretary wishes to call it, is adopted, requiring one-third of the delegates to consent to securing a roll-call. The secretary will inform us, if he can, immediately how many delegates there are. Those only are delegates who are seated.

SECRETARY GERBER: I can't give the exact number, for the reason that this morning some came in late, just a few minutes before the convention opened. The complete copy is in the hands of the printer to have the roll-call printed. There was 136 delegates last night, and there might have been half a dozen added this morning.

COMRADE: 125 has been the highest vote so far.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We will now proceed to elect a committee.

COMRADE KRUSE: Are we still on the rules?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think the last that was submitted was the Executive Committee, which has been disposed of.

COMRADE KRUSE: Is it admissible to offer rules from the floor?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Yes.

COMRADE KRUSE: I move that all motions for the previous question and to lay matters on the table be passed only on receiving a three-fourths vote.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE KRUSE: I desire to speak on that motion.

COMRADE MARCUS: A point of order. We just adopted Roberts' Rules of Order.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: When you adopt any set of rules, a convention as a body can adopt any other rules it pleases, and those rules prevail. Of course, that becomes a modification of the general rules prescribed by the convention; there are exceptions to it.

COMRADE KRUSE: The rules that you did adopt, Roberts' Rules, read, "except as otherwise provided for." The reason I make this motion is very much in line with what the Chairman has explained as his great reluctance in entertaining motions to lay on the table, and I hope that the delegates here will entertain the same reluctance that the chairman intimated at that time. I believe that a motion to lay on the table has its legitimate purpose, and, I am sorry to say, I also know that it has its illegitimate purposes, and, for every time it is used in its legitimate way, it is used a great many more times in an illegitimate way. The same thing happens in hollering for the "previous question". There are delegates in this hall who pride themselves upon their record for previous questions at previous conventions, and how many times they have arisen to their feet to move the previous question. I don't believe that the delegates are sent here either to lay things on the table or move the previous question, and for that reason I realize that it is almost prohibitive to get a three-fourths vote. There are times when we want

to close debate, and then the whole convention and not only a small part of the convention should be ready to close debate. There are times when we want to lay things on the table or under the table, but, it should be the will of the convention and not of a comparatively well-organized group in the convention. For that reason, I urge that this motion be passed.

COMRADE NAGLE: We have adopted one rule that, on the call of one-third of the delegates, a roll-call must be ordered. Every time that a roll-call is ordered, it takes from one-half to three-quarters of an hour. The next move is to require three-fourths, on previous questions. And, it has been intimated by the Chair that we are liable to be in session here for four or five days. Well, now, it is very easy for those gentlemen sitting here in Chicago and surrounding country to stay here and debate those questions, but, in four or five days, we have to be hustling and going home. We want to get away. When a majority of this convention acts, and acts fairly after a fair hearing, I think that the debate should be shut off, and I think that we should stick to Roberts' Rules of Order.

Cries of "Question."

COMRADE DAVIDOW: There is another reason. There is no reason why any one who desires the floor for discussion should not be recognized, but, it would be an easy matter

for one-fourth or more than one-fourth to form a clique and use that as a means for obstructing the work of this convention. I know that from my own personal experience, and I am afraid that that will occur here. I believe that the convention will afford every one a reasonable opportunity to voice himself. Personally, I don't think there is any reason why the usual procedure of moving the previous question and the vote necessary to have that done, or to lay a matter on the table, should be disregarded, and something put in its stead which will make it easy sledding for a group of wilful malcontents to tie up everything that the convention desires to do. I feel like the comrade from Oklahoma, that we haven't much time to spend here. We have much pressing work to be done at home. We have come here for a certain purpose, and we don't want to be tied up here a week, two weeks or three weeks.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I hope that motion is defeated. Comrade Kruse had given his reason why he would like to see this rule prevail. I believe that it is just this suspicion that some part of the convention or some group in the convention is at all times conspiring to put something across. According to Roberts' Rules of Order, the Chair is instructed in those Rules of Order that, if a call for the previous question is being used illegitimately, or being used to an unfair advantage, the Chair has the power to declare the call for the previous question out of order. I believe that we came here

to work and fight for socialism, and not to adopt rules which will create a suspicion in the convention that there are cliques who are unfairly trying to take advantage of others.

Cries of "Question."

COMRADE SOLOMON: I simply want to say, in reply to the statement made here to the effect that a well-organized majority is seeking to impose its will arbitrarily on the minority, that I believe, and have no hesitancy in declaring, that it is the will and the purpose and the desire of a so-called minority out here to be confronted with a disorganized majority. They would be satisfied to over-turn this organized majority. I can see no reason in the world why we should resent that we are a well-organized majority. It is the duty of any crowd in any convention, desiring to do its duty, to be organized for that purpose. I would be ashamed of any people who came here to be a pawn of a well-organized minority. And, I take my hat off to you of the majority, if you are a well-organized and intelligent and conservative majority.

COMRADE: I move the previous question.

COMRADE BRANDT: I am speaking in behalf of and for--

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The previous question has been called for. You would be entitled to the floor only on a question of personal privilege. The motion is that it shall require a three-fourths vote to lay a motion on the table or to carry a motion for the previous question. We will now take a vote on that question.

The motion was lost on a viva voce vote.

COMRADE GERBER: I move that the rules be adopted as amended.

A COMRADE: I second the motion.

Motion carried.

COMRADE BRANDT: I am speaking for the special committee that has inquired into the charges of irregularities. Our committee has met and completed its work, and we have our report ready here in the convention, awaiting the disposition of the convention and action of the convention.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In the absence of a motion to take up the report of your committee, we must proceed to electing committees. The election of seven members on the Committee on Contests is in order.

The following comrades were nominated: Panken, Reid, Roewer, Zimmerman, Nagle, Plunkett, Van Essen, Howe, Ameringer, Jones, Owens, Henry, Cohen, of Washington, D.C., Sandberg, Bearak, Wilcox, Solomon (Louis) and Guinlan.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I object to the language that this man (pointing) has used here to the visiting socialists in this hall. A man sitting in the front seat protested against throwing those comrades downstairs, and the officer turned to him and told him that he would throw him downstairs, and he would find that he wasn't on his feet, but would think that he was in an airship. Now, we don't want those bullying tactics here. (Applause)

I want to protest against that kind of language in this hall.

I want to know if these socialists have got to stand for this sort of stuff from those fellows.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will take that up in a few minutes. Any other nominations. If not, I will declare the nominations closed. Read the names and see if there are any declinations.

Henry, Bearak and Solomon declined the nominations.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I would like to find out whether the charges made by that man are correct, and, if so, I would like to ask the Chairman to ask--

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will appoint you on the committee to ascertain, if there is no objection.

COMRADE SOLOMON: We have a sergeant-at-arms.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It appears that a controversy has occurred with the police over what occurred this morning. I would suggest that perhaps it would be well to forget what occurred this morning for an hour or two, while the police are here. There is no power in this convention, even if you wished it, to remove them. At the present time Chicago is under the police department, just as much as it is some other places. Now, whether we like it or whether we don't, is quite a different proposition. Now, we will read off the names of those who have been nominated. The delegates will be given slips of paper by the tellers, and they should write down the names of the seven they are voting for.

COMRADE GERBER: The delegates have pads. They can write

COMRADE HENRY: I would like to ask if it wouldn't be a good idea for those voting to sign their names on their ballots.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In the absence of a motion, there is nothing to require any delegate to sign.

COMRADE HENRY: I make that as a motion.

COMRADE I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: On the back of it.

The motion was carried.

CHAIRMAN:STEDMAN: It has been suggested that those who vote without signing their names on the back of the ballots will run the risk of having their ballots disregarded. The motion has been made that we sign the ballots on the back.

COMRADE BERGER: A point of information. Mr. Ameringer was elected a delegate from Wisconsin. This morning we are not clear about that.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is clear that he is a delegate from Wisconsin.

COMRADE COLEMAN: Comrade Reid is also a delegate to the convention, notwithstanding any reports to the contrary.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will appoint Comrades Lafin, Baldwin and Kruse tellers.

On motion, a recess of fifteen minutes was taken.

COMRADE: Is it possible for these delegates to get a list of the delegates, so we may check up the vote?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The secretary will furnish the list, or inform the delegates.

SECRETARY GERBER: The last has gone down to the printer, but I have got one that is incomplete.

COMRADE BIRCHER: May I make that report, for which I was appointed?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Yes, if there is no objection.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I have a statement signed by a number of comrades outside that Officer Lawrence McDonough, without any preliminary remarks, shoved everybody to the rear of the hall, and handled one of our woman comrades, and, when one of our comrades by name mentioned here, protested against this action, and the officer said, "If you don't shut up, you will go down stairs, and you will not land on your feet. You will think you are in an airship." This is signed by Hattie Horne, Lillie Price, Bert Webber, Leo Stöler and B. Kolner. Each one heard the remark made. I would, therefore, move that the Chair request the policeman, who has charge of all the rest of them, to act only when requested by the Chair, and at no other time.

COMRADE PANKEN: I move that the matter be referred to Comrade Gernien, with instructions to present this to the Chief of Police of the city of Chicago.

COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE PANKEN: So that they can testify before the Chief of Police.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You don't know what's going on in this town.

COMRADE WILSON, of Illinois: Are these policemen requested to come in here and maintain order, and are they paid by the Party?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I don't know.

COMRADE GERMER: They are not paid by the Party.

COMRADE WILSON: They were requested to come here?

COMRADE GERMER: Not by me.

COMRADE: Yes.

COMRADE GOEBEL: One delegate says "yes." I challenge her to make good. I say that anybody who says that we invited the police here are damned liars.

COMRADE WILSON: I was trying to find out how the police got here, what authorities are responsible for this.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There is no use talking when every one else is talking. As soon as we can have order, we will proceed.

COMRADE WILSON: I wanted to find out whether the officials of the Party were responsible for bringing McDonough here, and the rest of them. Of course, if the police are here in spite of this convention, that is a different thing.

COMRADE GERMER: Yes.

COMRADE NAGLE: I move that we proceed to business.

COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE WILSON: Do you want to have that kind of stuff going on?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The motion is that we proceed with the business of the convention.

The motion being put, carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Under the rules which you have adopted, the next in order is the report of this committee on credentials or committee on contest. There is nothing before the convention now to be disposed of, except matters which may be taken up without objection.

COMRADE REID: I desire to make a motion that this convention take a recess when the election of this committee is ascertained, and that we do not convene until that committee has prepared its report.

COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The committee will not be able to report under 20 or 25 minutes, but we will say 25 minutes.

COMRADE WILSON: I make a motion that we recess for one hour, pending the report of the credentials committee.

COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The only question before us is whether you wish to locate yourselves quietly and patiently until the committee comes and reports, or whether you wish the freedom of the room.

COMRADE: It seems to me that there is a mix-up, whether we are to await the report on the election of the committee on contests or the report of the committee on contests.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We are to wait until the committee reports upon the election. After that is announced, I presume you will adjourn and give them sufficient time to make a report to the convention on the contests.

COMRADE REID: Is that the way the secretary has my motion?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I don't know that he has your motion. Make it now.

COMRADE REID: I move that this convention take a recess after it has been ascertained who was elected on the contest committee until that committee is ready to report.

COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE: Point of order. That motion does not fix the time. It is indefinite. A motion to adjourn must be for a definite time.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The motion is out of order, for the reason that you have adopted the rules for this convention, and it places one report after another. Naturally, you can do nothing until they report. The next thing in order is the return of the canvass upon the election of this committee. And, the next thing in order is their report.

COMRADE WILSON: I move that we adjourn for 20 minutes.

COMRADE: I notice that Comrade Berger has his coat off. Let's have a speech.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There's a motion made by Comrade Wilson that we adjourn for 30 minutes. Was it supported?

COMRADE WILSON: Twenty minutes, awaiting the report on

the election.

The motion being put, it carried.

A recess was here taken awaiting the report of the tellers on the canvass of the election.

The convention was called to order.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Is the committee ready to report?

COMRADE BALDWIN: Yes. The total number of ballots cast is 136. The following is the vote for each candidate, after which we wish to enumerate the seven highest in the order in which they came and the vote cast:

Panken	97
Hoewer	87
Reid	51
Zimmerman	45
Nagle	86
Plunkett	86
Van Essen	81
Howe	88
Ameringer	96
Jones	12
Owens	46
Cohen	15
Sandberg	43
Wilcox	8
Quinlan	15

The seven highest votes are as follows in the order in which I name them:

Panken, of New York
Ameringer, of Wisconsin
Howe, of Illinois
Roewer, of Massachusetts
Nagle, of Oklahoma
Plunkett, of Connecticut
Van Essen, of Pennsylvania

signed by myself, Kruse and Lafin. I would report that there were several votes cast for candidates not on the ballot; one for Comrade Baldwin, two for Comrade Wilson, for Comrade Leads, and for Comrade Bead. These were names placed on the ballots by various delegates.

CHAIRMAN STEADMAN: I declare the seven mentioned duly elected. I would suggest that the committee immediately retire and elect a chairman.

COMRADE GERBER: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN STEADMAN: Comrade Gerber wishes the floor on a matter of personal privilege.

COMRADE GERBER: There is a bulletin so-called, handed around among the delegates, and there is a statement contained therein with reference to the police coming in this morning, and I am charged with bringing the police in here this morning. I want to deny this, and brand it as a lie, and is a falsehood, just the same as the rest of it is.

I was here this morning at half past eight. I was helping the janitor getting this room in order, and, as soon as we had one section in order, a group of people came in and took their seats. Nobody bothered them; nobody molested them. And, as the job was completed, I was standing there, and Mr. John Reed wanted to come in, and I asked him whether he was a delegate. He said, "Yes." I said, "I know, under the Constitution, you cannot be a delegate, because you have only just been about a year in the Party and the Constitution requires three years." Consequently, I said, "As a visitor you can stay there, but you can't come in here as a delegate." Well, Mr. Reed, in his career in college, may have taken a course in sports or whatever it may have been, and he tried to shove me aside. But, I haven't been swinging the sledge hammer for a good many years for nothing either. So, I stood still. I have no briefs for the police. As far as the New York police are concerned, I know they pretty well. And, I know the New York police department pretty well, too. I don't know how you are controlled by the police department in Chicago. I don't know the police department nor the policemen of Chicago. I know, as far as New York is concerned, we have plenty of friends in the police department of New York, and, whenever the policemen can give us a hand and help us out, they always do that. Many a drunk and many a disturbance has been removed from our street

meetings when they tried to disturb our meetings. I don't know about it in Chicago. But, in all my career in New York, we never used the police department, as far as we are concerned. We always managed to take care of ourselves. We don't need the police department for that; we let them take care of the outside. There was no need at all to call the police here this morning. But, while this altercation was going on between Mr. Reed and two or three other of his lieutenants jumped on me, and there was about three or four to one, the police came up here. Who called him, I don't know. I suppose they had somebody here. And, that was the end of it. After that, they simply told everybody to clear the hall. But, I want to say that I stood here until the time the police told these people to get out of the hall, and everybody had to get out, including myself. I did not see any policeman or anybody else handle anybody roughly. If there was any rough handling at all, the only rough handling was between Mr. Reed and two or three other fellows and myself. I don't know how Mr. Reed looks nor his friends. You can look at me, and I don't look any the worse for the battle. But, I want to brand this thing as an absolute lie, absolutely.

Cries of "Read it."

COMRADE GERBER: It would take some minutes to read the whole

thing. Most of the comrades have read it. (Reading)
"Delegates from Illinois, Minnesota, Washington, Oregon,
Ohio, Nebraska, California and other states entered the
convention floor and took their seats in readiness for the
opening of the convention. At nearly ten o'clock, Gerber
of New York and Goebel of New Jersey, who were at the door
and attempted to refuse the above named delegates admission,
called the police and these delegations were ejected from
the hall by police power, many of them being roughly handled."

I want to say that I don't know when Goebel got here.
I was here at 8.30, to help the janitor put this place in
order. So, it wasn't nearly ten o'clock. There was nobody
stopped the people who came in here to sit down. We were too
busy about getting the place in order to bother with them.
After we were through, as to those who were delegates and
those who were not, there would be no question about it
that anybody who was entitled to a seat would be right here
to take care of themselves.

(Cries of "Read the second paragraph.")

(Reading) "This despicable act must be added to the many
others which the reactionary officialdom of the Socialist
Party is guilty. Not satisfied with wrecking the party,
expelling more than half of the membership, it now proceeds
to deny a half of the half still in the party representation
at this convention. And it does this by calling upon the

police for assistance. A denial will be made that the police was called upon. We can produce evidence that Gerber ordered the police to expel the comrades from the hall and he also remarked that if they did not move fast enough to treat them rough."

I brand that as an absolute falsehood, and a damnable lie, and it only comes from the same people who have been spreading all these lies all the time; just as false as any of the other lies that's been going on all along.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: I stood right back of Comrade Germer, when he asked the police, after the crowd refused to leave the hall, or, when the suggestion was made that they leave the hall, and there was no words of treating them rough, that I heard.

COMRADE GERMER: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Nobody will be recognized except delegates, and Comrade German has the floor next.

COMRADE GERMER: I think they meant me instead of Gerber in the second paragraph there, referring to the police. As I stated this morning in opening the convention, complaint came that a number of persons,--some of them were delegates whose seats had been contested, and some were not even delegates but were visitors--were sitting in the front row here, and all about the hall. I asked them to kindly vacate, because the main floor was reserved for delegates whose seats were not contested.

And, if any of them who were there were among the contested, why, the convention would later on dispose of their cases. I repeated my request two or three times. I said, "I am asking you now in a comradely spirit to leave the hall, leave the main floor, which is reserved for the delegates until the convention is organized." And they said, "We have credentials and are entitled to the floor." I said, "Some of them are contested, directly contested, and are not recognized. A card is issued to every one whose seat is not contested, and only those will be entitled to sit on the main floor. The rest will have to be in the visitors' part of the hall." They objected unanimously. I said, "If you will not leave the hall at my request, and I am asking you in a comradely spirit, I will have to ask the police clear the hall, and make room for the legitimate delegates." At that point, Reed said, "Make the police clear the hall! Make the police clear the hall!" I then asked the police to clear the hall. To that I plead "guilty," and I have no apologies to make and have no regrets. And, I want to supplement the statement that there was no rough handling, and no suggestion of handling them rough at all.

COMRADE GERTRUDE HARMAN: I deny that. There was rough handling.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You haven't the floor. (Applause)

COMRADE GERMER: I am through.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Every delegate here will be entitled to the floor on any question, but they will be recognized in order.

COMRADE GERMER: It is part of a well-laid propaganda, this police proposition. All you have got to do is to refer to the proceedings of the Ohio convention. All you have to do is to refer to the resolutions adopted there, in which they say that, if the comrades capture the convention by police power, there they were talking about police power, and they were then determined to create a situation where it was necessary to ask the police to clear the hall. (Applause; also, hooting from the visitors' gallery.)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I wish to say one thing more. Outsiders will not participate in the manner in which they are now conducting themselves. We will either have order in this convention, or we will exclude enough who are necessary to preserve it. (Applause)

COMRADE GERMER: That is ample proof of what I say. They don't want orderly procedure. They persistently and systematically seek--

COMRADE HARMON: I was here during the whole trouble this morning, and I was here with the bunch that came up here, and I know absolutely that we didn't come up here with any intention of making any rough house, or having any trouble

at all whatever. We didn't expect it. The bunch that I was with, and that was a majority of the ones who came in here, sat down. And, we didn't come in at 8.30, as the comrade inferred. He didn't state so, but he inferred it.

COMRADE GERBER: I did not.

COMRADE HARMON: Perhaps she didn't realize how much time had gone by. But, we waited in the hall, myself and a lady and a whole lot of the boys. I can't remember their names, but I do remember their faces. We saw that it was almost time for the convention. It lacked about 20 or 25 minutes, and I said to the lady who was with me, "Let's go up and get a seat." I would rather sit down than stand up. And, we started. I think I was about one of the first ones up stairs. I came up first, before any of the rest of the bunch did, and there wasn't anybody here, and I sat down a little while and rested, because I was very tired, and then I went back down and said, "Let's all go up and sit down." I would rather sit down any time than stand up. And, we came up here and sat down around in here. We were having a good time talking, and then there was some trouble started. By the time they ejected Comrade Reed--but, I could not swear that, because I wasn't close enough by, and will only tell what I absolutely know and can go on the witness stand and hold up my hand and swear that I know was the truth, and that's all I am going to tell, and I am not going to tell

any hearsay or anything else--the first thing I saw was somebody took hold of Comrade Reid, trying to put him out. I said, "What's the trouble?" They said they were trying to eject Reid." Pretty soon Germer came in. I never saw him before. I didn't know who he was, but now I know. He came in, and he said, "You will have to clear the hall." And, he said, "Well, I am a delegate. I have the credentials here." "It don't make any difference. Clear the room. If you don't clear the room, we will call the police." And, he proceeded to call the police. The police had already come upstairs. They did come up then, and he brought them in. I said, "Well, I am not going to leave this convention." I didn't say this to Germer. I said it out loud. I don't suppose he heard me, because he didn't pay any attention. He was simply telling the police to clear the room. I said, "Well, I have a right on the convention floor. I am going to sit here until I am told by the police to go. I am not going to take the word of anybody else. They have to tell me personally, because I am going back to Kansas and tell the men and women who elected me, the rank and file, that I didn't leave the convention until I had to." Because it was almost convention time, and I didn't know whether I would get back in again or not. Most of those who were ejected did not. I sat there. Everybody else had gotten up but me, and I think there was one man,

perhaps, who was still sitting, and I still sat there, and the policeman came along and he said, "You will have to get up and go, Missus." I said, "Are you a police officer?" and he said, "Yes." And, I got up and go. But, I didn't go very fast. I walked slowly. I don't think I lost my head. I am pretty dead sure I didn't lose my head, because I thought maybe I would have to go into court, or something, and I was taking notes. And, Germer said this: he said, "Officer,"--and he said it when they were nearly all out and I was still sitting there,--he said, "Clear the hall, and, if they don't go peacefully, DO YOUR DUTY."

COMRADE GERBER: Germer didn't say that.

COMRADE GERMER: I didn't say that.

COMRADE HARMON: Its true.

COMRADE GERMER: Is a question of personal privilege debatable?

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: No.

COMRADE GERMER: Then; there is nothing before the house.

COMRADE HARMON: I say that the ones who were with Gerber and Germer--I don't know their names, because I am not acquainted with them--didn't go down stairs. The police escorted the rest of us down, and the majority of our folks didn't get back up, although I know our other delegate from Kansas had the largest number of votes of any delegate in the State of Kansas. He is elected by the rank and file of Kansas. What are you going to do when you keep him out by the police force? That's the truth, absolutely. (Ap-

plause.)

COMRADE SOLOMON: I rise to a point of order. There is nothing before the house. We can't have internal quarrels here.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The point of order is sustained, but, others have spoken on it and I don't care to interrupt them. The point of personal privilege is in order. There is no use of getting excited just because you are tired, and it is late in the day.

A COMRADE: A point of information.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is perfectly proper. I don't know but what he is perfectly proper in asking for personal privilege.

A COMRADE: Doesn't it require unanimous consent?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: No.

A COMRADE: Or, a majority vote?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: No. Any one has the right, without a vote, to take the floor on a question of personal privilege.

A COMRADE: I think it is a matter of right where there is no motion pending before the house.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: He must have the unanimous consent or a majority vote. That's my opinion.

COMRADE LEE: Why didn't you have a vote on Gerber's personal privilege?

A COMRADE: Point of information.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Before you do that, let's settle another question, because it may come up later on. I would like to suggest a motion that it be the rule of the convention that no person shall have the privilege of the floor on a question of personal privilege except by the unanimous consent or by a majority, whichever you wish, and then, after that, you will have no trouble on the ruling.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that no personal privilege be given without a vote of a majority of the convention.

A COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Are you ready for the question?
(Cries of "Question.")

COMRADE GOEBEL: I have a right to the floor. I have a voice in this convention, but no vote.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You have a right to speak on the motion.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I am going to speak on this motion.

A COMRADE: Point of information.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: This motion I shall rule is debatable, and Comrade Goebel has the floor.

A COMRADE: Did I understand you to rule about ten minutes ago that nobody but delegates to the convention shall have a say in this convention?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Could have a vote in the convention.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I haven't been foolish enough to take any amount of time. We know the line-up, and we know, no matter what is done here, anything that can be used is going to be used abroad. We know that a caucus has determined on certain delegates coming in here, and get us on record in as many disagreeable ways as they can, and then, when their delegates, if every one of their delegates are not seated--I know what I am talking about--then they will go out and hold another convention. No matter what the truth about the police work is, I know it is being prepared to be used in here and there.

A COMRADE: A point of order.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: What's the point of order?

A COMRADE: He is not speaking on the motion before the house.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think the first part of the address was not on the question. Proceed.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I am speaking right to the question.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I don't think it is necessary for the delegates to antagonize every person that agrees or doesn't agree with them.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I am perfectly satisfied with what I have had. All I desire to say, for the sake of the delegates that are here working for the Socialist Party, and not for those who are looking for a chance to kill the party, to those I say this, that it is a falsehood, that there has not been a single thing brought out there that I in any way had anything to do with the police, and I ask you to remember that, and that's all.

COMRADE KRUSE: Point of information. If you pass a motion there to make a point of personal privilege dependent upon either a majority or unanimous or any other kind of vote, isn't that motion, when made, debatable, and, if so, what are the limits of the debate on that particular motion to give a comrade the right of personal privilege?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It would not be debatable.

The previous question was moved.

A COMRADE: I object to the consideration of that motion.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that the motion be placed on the table.

Being seconded, the motion carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The question of personal privilege is now open as a personal privilege to the individual who

is asking it.

COMRADE GERBER: A point of information. Our rules provide, unless otherwise provided in our rules, that Roberts' Rules of Order shall govern this convention. They provide that a question of personal privilege requires a majority vote of the assembly. That's Roberts' rules. If we go by them, when any one asks a question of personal privilege, we will have to take the vote of the convention and get it by a majority.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The committee on contested seats is ready to report.

COMRADE PANKEN: Your committee has met and organized, with myself as chairman, and Comrade Roewer, of Massachusetts, is secretary. We have adjourned until 7.30. At 7.30 we are going to begin hearings on the contested delegations and delegates in the ante-room here, one of the rooms we have already fitted out with chairs for that purpose.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Have you got any axes?

COMRADE PANKEN: Not yet. We are going to take up the committees in alphabetically order. I believe that we can dispose of California's six delegates, Illinois' one delegate and Iowa's one delegate tonight. We hope to do that during the evening. We have asked that the California delegation--it has been so decided by

us--shall elect out of their number a spokesman to present the case for the California delegation, so that there shall be no duplication of speeches and unnecessary prolongation of the work of the committee, so that the committee might be able to make an early report to the convention. We ask, therefore, that the California delegation, Wm. Bross Lloyd, of Illinois, and Frank Schoenig, of Iowa, shall appear before the committee at 7.30. We will meet tomorrow again at nine o'clock. I suppose the delegates are here or should be here, and they are now informed that we are ready to hear them at 7.30. Tomorrow morning we will take up Kansas, Minnesota and Nebraska, if we can do so before noon. I don't know what your pleasure will be in regard to the work of the convention. Under your rules, the next order of business is the report of the committee on contests. I don't know whether we shall be able to make a report tomorrow morning.

CHAIRMAN STESMAN: I might say to the convention that, in the absence of a reconsideration of the rules, this convention cannot proceed to hear the reports of the committees until this committee has reported.

COMRADE BEARAK: I would like to ask Comrade Panken whether the hearings on the contested delegates will be open for all.

COMRADE PANKEN: Of course; as many as can get in

are welcome, providing they are going to permit us to do our work.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You may as well recognize this: that it is useless to adjourn until ten o'clock unless you contemplate changing your rules and perform other work.

COMRADE WILSON: I make a motion that this convention now adjourn until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE WILSON: That motion is seconded, and the reason for making it is that the credentials committee or the contest committee just reported that they will not be able to report anything tonight, but that they will try to dispose of California, Illinois and Iowa tonight, and they will be in session tomorrow morning again at nine o'clock to take up other contests. They should be able to report on California, Iowa and Illinois contests tomorrow morning by ten o'clock. That is about the earliest time that you can get that report, and, if you change your rules, you have to take up the report of the committee upon the referendums that have been brought into question, and, if you take them up, they will take a day of this convention, and, if some of these contested delegates are seated, they ought to have a right to pass upon that report. Now, I think the only honest thing we

can do is to adjourn until ten o'clock tomorrow morning, and then hear the report of the credentials committee as far as it has gotten along.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: A motion has been made and seconded that we adjourn until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

COMRADE BIRCHER: In that case, I would like to have the floor on the motion.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You have it. Proceed.

COMRADE BIRCHER: It appears that we are very much in a hurry to adjourn. I believe there can be something done, if we will only try. We have a committee of seven to investigate contested delegations or delegates. This committee of seven cannot bring in a report tonight, and it is possible--in fact, it is already assured,--that no more than six states will have been taken care of by tomorrow morning. Something else ought to be done than to adjourn here. If we adjourn now and come here tomorrow morning at ten o'clock and receive no report from this committee, we will again adjourn. Adjourn for how long? Until we get a report from the committee. What there ought to be done at this time is to secure some kind of provision whereby this could be speeded along, so that the contested delegates could be investigated, and I hope everybody is going to vote against this motion

to adjourn. I have a motion to make afterwards.

COMRADE HOAN: I offer an amendment to the motion that we adjourn until two o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

A COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE HOAN: I want to state my reasons. I was as anxious as any one to get down to business and get through with this convention, but, if you transact any business until these contests are settled, you will immediately be accused of trying to rush through this convention business which other delegates have a right to consider, and I don't care whether it is the report of the committee on referendums or what the business may be. When that report is made, it must be considered. If they finish by ten o'clock tomorrow morning the three states, those three states ought not to be taken up unless the committee is here to be represented. Inasmuch as the committee has stated that they can make no report before two o'clock tomorrow, there is no reason under the sun why we should meet before then, and I, therefore, trust that the convention will adjourn until two o'clock tomorrow, and that all delegates who are entitled to have a consideration in this convention will then be seated.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You have heard the amendment to the original motion that, when we adjourn, we stand adjourned

until two o'clock tomorrow.

COMRADE HOAN: Not when we adjourn, but that we do adjourn.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I want to make an amendment to the amendment that we seat the Ohio delegation, since there is no contesting delegation of that state against them.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I rule it out of order. Are you ready for the question?

COMRADE MAKELA: A point of information. How many contests are there?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN : The committee on contests will give the comrades the information.

COMRADE PANZEN: Thirteen contests.

COMRADE LAFIN: Will the committee feel that it will be in a position to at least make some report on the largest delegation of all the contests, Ohio?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I am not qualified, and I don't feel what they feel, so I can't tell you. They have made their report to you that they expect to conclude with several states tonight, and resume business at nine o'clock in the morning. I assume that until they have some idea of the magnitude of their task, it will be impossible for them to state precisely.

COMRADE BLOCK (S. John); Does that mean 13 states or 13 individuals?

COMRADE PANZEN: Thirteen states.

COMRADE BLOCK: How many individuals?

COMRADE PANZEN: 31 or 34.

The motion to adjourn until two o'clock tomorrow
afternoon, being put, carried, it now being 6.30 P.M.

SECOND DAY.

Sunday, August 31st, 1919.

2.00 o'clock, P.M.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Stedman.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I would like to know if the committee on contests is ready to report. Some one has announced that the committee on contests is not prepared to make a report. Can you inform us when they will be prepared?

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move that a committee be appointed to call on the committee on contests to bring in a partial report.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will appoint you as a committee of one. You will attend the meeting immediately.

COMRADE BERGER: There is a committee that should report before the committee on contests' report; that is, the committee that is appointed to investigate the elections, and their report is ready.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Do you wish to make a motion that we proceed to take up the committee's report on investigations?

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I think you should take up by motion the matter of inquiring if the contest committee is ready to make a partial report.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: All in favor of appointing a committee to ask the committee on contests when they will be able to report will signify by saying "aye."

Motion carried.

COMRADE BERGER: I will now make a motion that we take up the report of the committee on contested referendums, but no action to be taken until the report of the committee on credentials.

A COMRADE: I second it.

Motion carried.

COMRADE MAILLY: We don't know what's being voted on.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It was moved, supported and has been carried that we listen to the report of the special committee on contested referendums and take no action on it until after the committee has reported on contested delegates.

COMRADE MAILLY: That motion is out of order. We just passed a motion to inquire whether they are ready to report.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I rule that the motion is in order, and the convention has so decided. That will not prevent an interruption to make the report.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: The committee on contests will be able to give us a partial report in a half hour.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The chairman of the committee on contested referendums has the floor.

COMRADE COLDWELL: I rise here to protest against the transaction of any business until we have received a report from the committee on contested seats.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You are out of order. I wish to say this: the convention has just moved that we listen to a report but that we do not act upon it; so, the rights of the contested delegates will be preserved as they will be here to vote upon it. Now, the convention has moved. If you voted in the affirmative, and you wish to move a reconsideration, you are entitled to do so. Otherwise, the only thing that the chairman can do is to enforce the will of the convention.

COMRADE COLDWELL: Then, on a question of personal privilege, I wish to state that I cannot remain in this convention, and I am going to ask all representatives of the left wing group to retire.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That is your privilege. Comrade Branstetter will make his report. The report for distribution will be ready in a few moments.

COMRADE KRUSE: I would like to ask that copies of this report be given to those who are now serving on the committee on contests, and also to the contested delegates.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I see no objection to that.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I thought that we decided no

business would come before us until the report of the committee on contests had been announced.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That was true, according to the rules which you adopted. The convention on a motion decided to hear this report but not act upon it. In other words, there is to be no action taken upon any motions until the final contest over delegates has been determined. It is neither to be approved or disproved. It has been announced that all the left wingers and all the bolters are wanted downstairs; it has been announced so that every one will understand it. (Applause) It will not be necessary to make any further announcement. There is not to be any approval or disapproval of this report; you are simply to listen to the report.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I suggest that you get some kind of order here in this convention, so that we know what is going on.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Until they bring in those printed reports, it doesn't make much difference how much order there is, because we are not ready for anything yet. The secretary has a few telegrams to read.

SECRETARY GERBER: I have received the following telegrams:

New York, Aug. 30, 1919

Socialist Party Convention.

Adolph Germer, National Secretary.

The Socialist Party Sixth Assembly District send you its fraternal greetings and trust that this emergency convention shall again cement our party into one solid, united and powerful revolutionary organization. May your deliberations be the greatest ever.

Socialist Party, 6th Assembly Dist.

Manhattan Charles Grossman, Organizer

Detroit, Aug. 30, 1919.

The Socialist Convention.

Chicago, Ill.

We, the City Central Committee of the Jewish Branches Socialist Party of Detroit, congratulate you comrades and we hope that you will stand united in this crisis for the emancipation of the working class.

City Central Committee

Secretary M. Bass

Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 30, 1919

American Socialist Party.

Chicago, Ill.

To the Socialistic Convention of America we come

to congratulate you at this convention and wish you success for a united effort for revolutionary Socialism, and hope that this convention will understand the necessity for a united party and will not split under any circumstances with revolutionary Socialists. Regards.

Kansas City Executive Committee
Jewish Socialist Federation.

New York City, Aug. 30, 1919
National Convention, Socialist Party.
Chicago, Ill.

We, five hundred party members send our greetings to you. We shall carry through your decision with more vigor and greater enthusiasm. We hope you will rebuild the Socialist Party that will ultimately lead the workers of America into Socialism.

Socialist Party, 1st, 2nd and 4th Assembly.

Detroit, Mich., Aug. 31, 1919.
Socialist Party Convention.

Our hearty congratulations to your eventful gathering. Comrades, shape all your policies in the same revolutionary spirit you have so splendidly demonstrated in the past.

Jewish Oakland Branch.

New York City, Aug. 31, 1919.

Adolph Germer.

Machinists Hall, Chicago, Ill.

The members of the 18th and 20th A.D. Socialist Party New York County, extend their heartiest congratulations to all delegates assembled and wish you success in your efforts to bring about a strong united Socialist movement in the United States.

Yours for Socialism.

Bernard Schub, Organizer.

Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 30, 1919.

Socialist Party.

Machinists Hall, Chicago, Ill.

Peace and harmony will lead us to success. Lone live Socialist Party.

Leon Blank.

New York City, Aug. 30, 1919.

National Convention Socialist Party.

Chicago, Ill.

We greet you on behalf of the organized workers of the Cloak and Suit Tailors Union. We hope you unite the working classes of America and lead them to emancipa-

tion.

Cloak and Suit Tailors Union.

Local 91 LGNU

--

Boston, Mass., Aug. 31, 1919.

Socialist Party.

Chicago, Ill.

Onward with the good work to reorganize the party in the spirit of true revolutionary Socialism.

Jewish Branch, West End, Boston, Mass.

Benjamin Levine, Secy.

--

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 31, 1919.

To the Delegates of the National Socialist Convention:

Dear friends and comrades:

On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers Lodge No. 113, International Association of Machinists and the Machinist Society of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property as well as the sanctuary of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection, we cannot conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection when we, as an organization, condemn it and

oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representatives of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons, we cannot let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps your invited guest without submitting to deepest protest.

We call upon you to take steps to remove the police, or make such arrangements that will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardships upon you, but for the best interest of the Socialist Party and the labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity

Leo D Vance

Karl Harig

Executive Board
Die & Tool Makers
Lodge #113

G. T. Fraercke

Paul Pokora

I. A. Sarther.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In reply to that, let me say this: I would like the secretary to inform the parties representing the machinists that at ten o'clock on day before yesterday the Department of Immigration called up Chief Garrity and ordered ten policemen here. The stenographer who was here yesterday represents the Department of Justice, and also

the stenographer who is now here represents the police department of Chicago. The Socialists neither brought the stenographer from the Department of Justice, the police department representatives nor the stenographer from there. They are not brought here by our orders; neither by Germer or any one else; but, by the Department of Immigration, and we have no power to remove them, except by giving up the hall. (Applause)

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Regardless of the statement made by you, which I haven't the least doubt is absolutely true, I move that it is the sense of this convention that any representatives of the constituted police authorities of the city of Chicago or the federal authorities are here, if they are here, in spite of us and not because of us.

COMRADE SELLEMAN: A point of order. That motion is out of order, because it is understood, under any and all circumstances, that that is the sense of any Socialist convention.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I think it is perfectly ridiculous myself. I have a right to insist upon it, and I am going to insist upon it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is not strictly in order, but I will entertain it. The motion is that the police were not called in response to any order or request of the con-

vention or the officials who called it. Does that express your motion? Add anything to it you wish.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I think we have the right to request them to leave us alone.

A COMRADE: I don't believe we care a "continental" who is here. We are transacting business open and above board. There is nothing that we are ashamed or afraid of, and the Government authorities or the city of Chicago are welcome to send representatives here. Our business is open and above board. If they imagine we are doing anything under-handed, it is their duty to send representatives here. If they give us a fair and honest report, they are welcome, as far as I am concerned.

COMRADE ONEAL: I just want to make one observation on this entire situation. We know there are elements, some of whom are seated in this convention, and some of whom are not, who are willing and are going to take advantage of this unpleasant situation for propaganda in the movement, and, mark you this, comrades, the communist convention that is called is going to meet with exactly the same situation. You will have the police there, too. (Applause) And, if we want to play the same sort of game that you are playing, in this convention, we could go to your convention and say that you invited the police there to keep us out. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The only real question that is in order is whether we should adopt that resolution.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: I think it is in order.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In regard to that portion of the motion to withdraw the police, the only way to do that is to appoint committee to call upon the Department of Immigration and order that, of course, to withdraw the police.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: First of all, I request that we go on record as requesting the police authorities to withdraw from this hall.

A COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: To explain why I mention this proposition---- Am I in order?

SECRETARY GERBER: Do you offer that as an amendment to Comrade Shiplacoff's motion?

COMRADE SALUTSKY: Yes. Am I in order?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will entertain it as an amendment. It has been amended that the police authorities be requested to withdraw the police from the hall.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: I don't doubt that conditions might arise which will necessitate the appeal for protection. I come from a place where we had exactly the same situation. I don't doubt that something might happen that we will need protection, but the danger is the following: Perhaps

the danger of some official inquiry of some of us who might be weak enough to not be able to express ourselves. Second, the chance of injury to the party in session. I am willing individually to demand the withdrawal of the police, regardless of whatever may happen later, because I want the results of the Socialist Party to be perfectly clear on this record. I don't want to give anybody on the other side, or some on the inside, a chance to claim that we were afraid to face our opponents in the movement without proper protection of the police. I, therefore, move that we request the withdrawal of the police, regardless of what may happen later on.

A COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That is really a substitute. It has been moved as a substitute --the other was an expression of a sentiment and making a written declaration that the police were not here responsive to our order or request--the amendment is that we request the Department of Police and the Immigration Department of the United States to withdraw the police.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I understand that amendment is additional.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Yes.

COMRADE CHASE: I wish to speak on this motion. I think it is a good idea to put the motion. The various ideas

of who called the police and who didn't, all these things, I think, we ought to clear ourselves of, as far as we can. As far as the request of the Machinists' Union is concerned--I belonged to the Machinists' Union for a good many years--I think their attitude is sincere in this matter. Of course, if this motion prevails, I hope that the Clair wont appoint me on the committee to ask the police out. I hope that the motion goes through, and that will express our sentiments, and I think it will clear ourselves with the machinists that we have gone on record as opposed to having the police here, and asked them to withdraw. If they don't see fit to withdraw, I don't know.

COMRADE HOAN: I should like to make a motion to lay the matter on the table, and will explain my reasons, if my motion is seconded.

CHAIRMAN STETMAN: You can not debate that.

COMRADE HOAN: May I state the reasons for making it?

CHAIRMAN STETMAN: No. You can oppose the matter.

There was one matter we didn't state yesterday through oversight, the reason for clearing this hall. I stood as an eye-witness at least one foot away from Comrade Gerber, of New York, yesterday when Comrade Reed undertook and did push his way in, under the protest of Comrade Gerber that he was not a delegate. Comrade Gerber in-

formed Reed that he could not be a delegate because he had not been in the Party three years. Reed insisted that he was, and pushed in, and after this little scuffle Reed stood up in the hall and holered as loud as he could, "Come on in, left wingers," regardless of whether they were delegates or not. He shouted that three times. They came into this hall, delegates and all, with a distinct plan to keep possession of this hall and to prevent the possible gathering of the delegates. When Germer called these police in to clear this call, he did the right thing, and, in the judgment of the pelice, they believed they ought to be here to prevent a disturbance of the peace. It is up to them to do what they want to do. They came here on the invitation of Germer to clear this hall, instead of preventing violence or disturbance. I trust that this whole matter will be laid on the table.

(Cries of "No.")

COMRADE GERMER: Just one word concerning that, so there wont be a wrong impression left. I didn't call the police in. The police were in here when I asked them to clear the hall. They were here. There might be the wrong impression that they were called from the outside or from the police station.

COMRADE KRUSE: There is no real reason why this motion should not be passed by a hundred per cent. vote.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I thought you said a motion to lay

on the table is not debatable.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There is no motion to lay on the table. He said he hoped it would be. No motion was entertained. I would not entertain a motion to lay on the table following an address against the motion anyway.

COMRADE KRUSE: There is no reason why the motion should not pass by a 100 per cent. vote. You can be assured, delegates of both sides, that the mere inviting the police out is going to have no appreciable effect upon the police, and it would be a perfectly dignified method of saving grace, and thoroughly revolutionary, at the same time. I really expect this motion to pass.

COMRADE BERGER: I have been in this movement for 37 years, just a little while before this man was born. I never try to appear at all revolutionary. However, I always try to be thoroughly honest. Of course, we didn't invite the police here. Of course, the police are very handy. Of course, the Department of Immigration sent the police here. I believe that's so. Yet, we are very glad the police were here, because, if they hadn't been here, none of you would be here. The other side would have captured this hall. What would have happened to you? None of you would be here. The police saved you. What's the use of all this hypocrisy? If you want to pass a resolution against the police, I think that the thing is sheer

hypocrisy. No matter what you do, the other side will have the same opinion of you after as before.

COMRADE QUINLAN: Assuming that that motion will pass, the next question is, will the authorities act on your request? They will not. Now, the fact is that policemen have been at socialist meetings. Sometimes it has been a blessing in disguise; sometimes it has been mischievous. I have never yet seen a speaker refuse the protection of the police department, when the police officer was around the corner. I was at a meeting of an extreme, ultra, super-revolutionary body in New York, and two police officers were there. I was one of the speakers, and the only one that objected to their presence was the chairman of the meeting. I for one stand here and say that, while I don't like to see them here--I think it is a bad precedent to establish--but they are here; they are probably here against our wishes. But, to request that the Department of Justice withdraw their stenographer and their policemen is absurd. They may laugh at you. Always keep in mind that all conventions, whether labor, Republican or Democratic, except you make a motion to go into executive session, are open, and anybody can come in here, the police, civilians or anybody else. So, the motion is entirely out of order, and you ought to throw it in the waste basket.

COMRADE CLAESSENS: I offer a substitute. There is a

revolutionary method of getting out of this, and that is to pass a resolution that this convention stand instructed as a body, representing the Socialist Party, that the police department of Chicago be hereby disbanded.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Will somebody also move to suspend the Department of Immigration.

A COMRADE: I so move.

COMRADE DAVIDOW: I believe that the passage of this motion, as it is amended, is essential, for this reason: this is a convention of people from all over the country. The reports of this convention will be printed. The official report of this convention will be printed. Some people have come here for the distinct purpose of quessing the activities of this convention in such a way as to give the comrades back home the impression that this is not a convention of socialists but a convention of reactionaries. And, they are going to make a lot out of the police habing been here. I think that one of the best ways to refute any remarks that those people are apt to make would be a resolution which incorporated a demand upon the police to withdraw. We know it wont be respected by the police, but, just the same, we want it in black-and-white so that, when any of these people go out and do the things that they have done in the past, we can meet them with something tangible,

that this convention did not invite the police here, but we went to the extent of asking them to leave, and that they continued to be here against our protest. I think it is necessary, because, if those tactics are going to be continued, if we can show them up in one respect, it is going to be influential in discreting them in any other slanderous activities that they are bound to take on after the convention is over.

COMRADE TENNYSON: We come here under instructions of our comrades back home to use our heads to the best advantage to clear the situation in the Party. I am today, and my comrade with me (Comrade Crowell), laboring under the accusation, from various parties through the body of the convention, of having "left wing" tendencies. In regard to that, I want to say that, for the last ten years of my life, I have been a socialist agitator, which means a socialist sufferer. During that time it has always been a pleasure to me, and a privilege that I actually appreciated, to scatter what few principles of Socialism that I was able to expound to any and everybody alike. For that reason, I want to say to the comrades, and especially to the chairman, to extend an invitation, not to what police are here, but the remaining portion of the police department. The more of them that come in here, the more opportunity you have of convincing them of the

principles of right and justice. (Applause)

COMRADE HALLER: I think the discussion has shown, what I thought at the beginning of it, that we are going to make ourselves ludicrous and ridiculous if we adopt any motion on the subject whatever. We have had a statement from the chairman of this convention as to how these policemen came here. It makes no difference what resolution you adopt on that matter, you are not going to add anything to the fact, because personally most of you know nothing about it. I know nothing about it. If I vote for this resolution, if the police were not called here, it could be said that I might as well have stayed at home and voted upon it, for all I know about it. That is simply a question of fact. and only those who know the facts have stated to us what the facts are. So that your resolution on that subject, that we didn't call the police, will be so much empty wind and paper wasted. You can be accused of that when we leave here. Your resolution can be dug up and you can be made ridiculous at being told that you resolved on things of fact that you knew nothing about. Now, as to the other proposition: To adopt a resolution to ask the police authorities or any authorities to withdraw their representatives would also make us ludicrous, because we know in advance that they will not withdraw. And, those whom you are trying to

appease, those whom you say will go home and make claims against you, they can make the charge that you adopted those resolutions hypocritically, because you knew, when they were adopted, that they were not meant to be of any force, and that they would not be regarded as being serious or of any value. That is the charge that would be made. If you make such a resolution as that, you may add; but, it makes no difference how much you add upon your resolution, it will be no stronger than the foundation upon which it rests. You cannot add to the foundation. As to the presence of the police, for myself personally, I am always willing and glad to see the police present at socialist meetings, and I speak as to that from experience. In the city that I lived in, we used to have policemen sent to our meetings in large numbers. First, the police used to line the hall. There was more police than could stand around against the walls, almost. The effect of it was that a good many of those policemen became imbued with the ideas of socialism, and some of them joined the Socialist Party. (Applause) Now, the result of that was, as soon as those in authority, the Board of Police, or the superintendent, found that out, they became alarmed, and, when they sent police, they sent only a few in number, a very few in number, and gave them instructions that they should stand outside, (laughter) and not come

in. So that, as I say, we cannot add anything to the facts. Their position has been stated here by the Chair, and by the persons who know. No resolution of ours can add anything to it. A resolution asking that they be withdrawn would be refused by the police department, as we know it. If the police are here, let them hear the good doctrines. I say, don't make ourselves ridiculous, but vote the whole thing down and let it rest upon the statement of the Chair.

COMRADE HOAN: I move that the entire matter be tabled.

COMRADE: I second it.

Motion to table carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The committee will now proceed to make their report.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Do you feel that this body is at all in honor bound to the proprietors of this hall to give them a reply to their very civil and decent question?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You ask me that? I do. But, that is a matter with the convention. I think that the secretary should be instructed to send a communication to them that can be read in their meeting, stating the facts.

COMRADE SOLOMON: I so move.

A COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You might also ask the stenographer from the Department of Justice and the Department of Police.

COMRAD SHIPLACOFF: It was my intention to specify no one else but the Machinists' union.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is well enough to publish a copy of both letters in our papers.

(Cries of "Question.") Motion carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The time has arrived for electing a new chairman of this convention. I will, therefore, call for nominations.

COMRADE TENNYSON: I move that the present incumbent continue to serve as chairman of the convention.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Please make nominations.

The following comrades were nominated as chairman of the day:

Comrades Lee, Stedman, Kruse and Bausch.

A COMRADE: I move that the nominations be closed.

CHAIRMAN: Then, I will declare the nominations closed, and also decline, at least, for the day, to serve as chairman. The candidates now are Lee, Kruse and Bausch.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I wish to decline.

A vote being taken on the remaining candidates, Comrade Lee received 76 votes and Comrade Kruse received 18 votes.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In retiring, I want to acknowledge my appreciation of the courtesy shown by the delegates to

the retiring chairman.

Comrade Lee in the chair.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Now, we will take up the nomination of a vice-chairman.

The following comrades were nominated as vice-chairman:

Comrades Hoan and Engdhal. A vote being taken,

Comrade Hoan received 56 votes and Comrade Engdhal received 38 votes.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The National Executive Secretary desires to present a credential to the secretary.

COMRADE GERMER: I received a credential from B. H. Lauderdale, of Texas. No contest.

On motion Comrade Lauderdale was seated as a delegate to the convention from Texas.

A COMRADE: The committee sent to inquire when the committee on contests will report stated in half an hour. I think the half hour has expired.

CHAIRMAN LEE: There is no report from the committee on contests yet. Now, we will hear the committee on contested referendums.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: We decided to make no recommendations, submitting simply the facts, and our findings are for your consideration. The report is as follows:

CHAIRMAN LEE: The report of the special committee to investigate contested referendums is, under a motion already passed, received by the convention for information, and lies upon the table until the regular time for its consideration comes, under the order of business.

COMRADE KRUSE: May I ask the committee whether they took the trouble to examine as to the relation of these frauds and whatever others might be suspected to the total vote?

COMRADE LEE: The Chair will rule that this motion will be in order at the time when the report comes before the convention for action.

COMRADE KRUSE: That is not a motion.

COMRADE LEE: The Chair will rule that this question will be in order when the report comes before the convention for action. The Chair understands that the motion provided for the reading of the report, and not for a discussion of the same, and that the question is properly a part of the discussion.

COMRADE KRUSE: The only reason I asked for that point of information was, in case the committee hadn't done so, it might have given us that information when the report is finally presented.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair thinks it is the sense of the motion, questions addressed to the committee, together

with any comments upon the report, as well as any motions for its disposition, must come at the time set, under the order of business, for the consideration of the report. Is the committee on contested seats ready to report? Will the sergeant-at-arms go, or send some one at once, and inform the committee on contested seats that the convention is awaiting their report. In the meantime, we have some communications which may be read to the convention. It is requested by the Machinists' organization, which is the owner of the building and who is responsible for the building, that the stairway and a complete passage from this hall to the exits must be kept clear. They are responsible to the fire department. If that stairway is not kept clear, the fire department has the authority and power to close the building, and, furthermore, the machinists' organization will be responsible for any damage and injury that might result. The Chair will naturally request those who are here in the hall, and will instruct the sergeant-at-arms, to get it clear, or probably get some other comrades to assist him in watching the stairway and seeing that it is kept clear. That absolutely must be done.

SECRETARY GERBER: I have the following communications:

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 29, 1919.

To the Delegates to Socialist Party Convention.

Machinists Hall.

Chicago, Ill.

The Executive Committee of the Bohemian Federation extends fraternal greetings to the delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party.

It hopes that the convention will find means of bridging the gaps created in our party organization, and end the chaotic conditions resulting from the last war.

It appeals to the delegates to keep in mind the responsibility resting upon them in the supreme crisis of the party.

In view of our present duties, imposed upon us by the victory of one set of imperialists over another, by the threatening attitude assumed by the plutocrats of this country towards Mexico, the badly hidden attempts of our militarists to interfere with the development of the Russian proletarian republic, etc., we feel that at no time was the call of Karl Marx, whose memory we all cherish, the words, "Workers of the world, unite," to be more heeded than ever.

Do not let us copy the errors of comrades in countries where conditions have set them before an active revolution, and weaken our ranks by fratricidal quarrels. Let us be comrades.

We have one common enemy, one common cause. We can win only thru solidarity.

Wishing your efforts to be crowned with all possible success, we are fraternally yours, for the Executive Committee of the Bohemian Federation,

Committee on Resolutions

Milada H. Beranek

Charles Kolarik.

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 29, 1919.

To the Special National Convention
of the Socialist Party to be held at
Chicago, Ill., Aug. 30, '19.

Resolution of the delegates assembled at the District Conference of the West Slovak Socialist Branches held on the 4th, 5th and 6th days of July, 1919, at Chicago, Ill. On the basis of the formations of present relations toward the workingmen in America and in the whole world in general, we demand that the Socialist Party in America should take up a sound organization standpoint, that would answer more to the present times, which to be as follows:

1. That the Party should take up a direct standpoint on the economic field on the system of industrial unionism and so in cooperation with the political action to approach to the emancipation of the proletariat. As a source we project that the Party should get in communication with all

ready existing industrial organizations supporting the Socialist stand and jointly to form one large economic and political organization of the workingmen.

2. We demand that the Party should own all newspapers and literature in general which should answer the present conditions, in its spirit.

3. We protest against forming more federations out of the branches of the Socialist Party, which have somewhat ~~more~~ radical views, than our Party propagate, and we energetically demand that this question be given on a referendum ballot to the members standing at present in the Party.

4. We demand that the Party should take up a decisive stand against interning the volunteer army for the Russian Soviet Republic, and also against intervention of the Hungarian Communists.

5. Further we propose that the Socialist Party should confine the legislative action of 90% on account practical reasons.

6. And supplementary we demand that the convention of the Socialist Party should issue an energetic protest against the bill pending in the Congress of the United States according to which the foreign-language newspapers would be refused the transportation by mail; and also against any kind of censorship.

For the Resolution Committee

Karol Korenic

Andrew Smith

Jozef Novak

Jan Dubcek.

CHAIRMAN LEE: We are informed that the committee on contested seats will be ready to report to the convention in five minutes.

A COMRADE: I move that we take a recess for five minutes.

CHAIRMAN LEE: If there is no objection, it is so ordered.

A recess of five minutes was taken.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The comrades will come to order, the five minutes having elapsed. The committee on contested seats is now ready to report. Comrade Panken will have the floor.

COMRADE PANKEN: The committee on contested seats is only ready in part to report. We were not able to dispose of all of the contests thus far. There are thirteen contests; the contest on the delegates from the State of California, the contest on one delegate from the State of Illinois, Comrade Wm. Bross Lloyd, the contest on the delegate from the State of Iowa, Comrade Frank Schoenig, the contest on the delegate from the State of Kansas, Comrade L. E. Vatterfeld, contest on the delegation from the State of Nebraska, contest on one of the delegates from the State of New

Jersey, Comrade Fred Harwood, contest on the delegation from the State of Oregon, contest on one delegate from the State of Pennsylvania, Comrade Horacek, contest on the delegation from the State of Utah, contest on the delegation from the State of Wyoming, contest on the delegation from the State of Washington, contest on one of the delegates from the State of West Virginia, and the contest on two of the delegates from Missouri. The committee was able, after seven or eight hours' continuous session, to hear all the testimony which was to be submitted and which has been submitted by both sides, and we were able to conclude that work about half past two. We then were informed that the convention would like us to present a report. We were unable to come to a conclusion thus far on all of the contests, but we have come to a conclusion on some of the contested delegates, and, with the permission of the Chair, I shall read to you our conclusion.

Report on Oregon.

The delegation from Oregon is contested by the National Executive Committee. The specifications upon which the contest is made is as follows:

1. That at the State Executive Committee meeting the State of Oregon passed the following motion:

"That the State Secretary be authorized to sell due stamps to the Lattish Branch of Local Portland. Carried."

2. That the suspended foreign language branches were allowed to participate in the election of delegates to the convention.

The facts are that the official tabulation of votes cast for delegates to the Emergency Convention discloses that the Lettish Branch and the Lithuanian Branch located in Portland voted at said election. On behalf of the Oregon delegation, Comrade Talbert submitted the following facts:

That the Lithuanian Branch is not affiliated with the language federation, but is directly affiliated with the Socialist Party in Portland.

As to the Lettish Branch he submitted the following explanation:

That the branch was chartered by the party organization in Oregon, and that he, therefore, believed that they they were entitled to participate in the election and entitled to purchase dues stamps.

The committee believes that the facts as given to it by Comrade Talberg are true, and, therefore, recommends that the delegation be seated. The accredited delegates were Harlin Talberg, Victor Saulit, H. S. Warren and H. M. Bruicks, but Bruicks since his election has resigned from the Party, and the alternate is Comrade L. Moilanen, of Portland, I believe. Therefore, the delegates from Oregon

that we recommend be seated are Talbert, Saulit, Warren, and Moilanen.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Unless the convention otherwise directs, we will take up each contest for action; then, we will act upon this, and then go on to the next portion of the report.

CHAIRMAN HOEHN: I move the adoption of the report.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair, if there is no objection, will---

COMRADE HOEHN: I move that the recommendation of the committee on contested seats, as far as concerns the delegates from Oregon, be concurred in, and that the four delegates named be seated.

On being seconded, the motion carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: The contest on the seat of Comrade Nick Koerting, delegate from Wyoming, is made by the National Executive Committee, and it is based on the following grounds:

Koerting has not been a member of the party for the requisite period required in the constitution. Section 4, Article 9, provides that no delegate shall be eligible unless he is a resident member of the state from which his credential is presented and shall have been a member of the party organization at least three years.

The credential sent in to the National Executive Committee shows on the face thereof that Comrade Koerting has

been a member of the party since 1917, and hence, being only a member of the party two years, the committee, therefore, recommends that he be not seated, and that the contest be sustained..

CHAIRMAN LEE: I take it that the report of the committee is a motion. It is moved that the delegate from Wyoming, Comrade Koerting, be not seated, as recommended by the committee.

COMRADE BIRCHER: Are there any members in Wyoming who are eligible to hold the office of delegate? Are there any of them there who hold membership longer than two years?

COMRADE PANKEN: The committee has made inquiries regarding that very question, and we are told that Wyoming has been organized, that the socialist Party has been organized in Wyoming and functioning in Wyoming for a great many years, much longer than two years.

COMRADE KRUSE: I would like to ask whether there was any alternate delegate elected by Wyoming?

COMRADE PANKEN: No.

COMRADE FLOATEN: I know from my own knowledge that Wyoming has been organized for over ten years.

COMRADE COHEN, of Washington, D.C.: Was Wyoming notified that the delegate could not be seated?

COMRADE PANKEN: The committee is not in a position to

answer this question.

COMRADE HOGAN: As a member of the National Executive Committee, I can answer that question. The state secretary was notified or his attention was called to the fact that the delegate would not be eligible on account of not having been a member of the party a sufficient number of years.

COMRADE TENNYSON: In view of the fact that Wyoming has had an organization for a period of ten years, and view of the fact that Wyoming was notified that this delegate would be ineligible, I make a motion that the delegate be refused his seat, and the finding of the committee be sustained.

CHAIRMAN LEE: That motion is before the house.

COMRADE COHEN: When was he notified?

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair is not in position to answer.

COMRADE COOK: As a state secretary, I will say that, as far as I am concerned, I was notified that that was the case, and so acted on those instructions from the National office. Therefore, all state secretaries would naturally act under the same instructions.

COMRADE GERMER: In the call for the nomination and election of delegates, as read in the outset of the con-

vention here, every state secretary was fully informed that a member must hold membership three years before he would be entitled to serve as a delegate, and neither of the Wyoming delegates are here; neither this comrade, whose seat is in question, nor the state secretary, who is the other delegate, are here.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The motion is that Comrade Koerting be not seated.

Motion carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: We found that the delegates sent from Nebraska came here with twelve votes to their credit. The challenge was made by the branch in Omaha. They were elected to this convention by twelve votes, the two delegates; five from Omaha and seven from the state. The challenge was made to the right of a seat in this convention by these delegates from the branch in Omaha, that has 44 good standing members, and who had an election and elected their two who received, I think, one 29 and the next one, 15 or 17, I don't remember exactly the figures. The real basis of the contest was that the state secretary of Nebraska failed to notify the various branches that they were required to make nominations for delegates to the convention, and that this branch received no such notification, and that, therefore, didn't make any nominations for dele-

gates to the convention. The state secretary was one of the contested delegates, and told the committee that notice was given, and it was given through the Press. The secretary had printed in some paper there that the Socialist Party take notice of the fact that there will be an emergency convention in Chicago, and that nominations for delegates be made. After we canvassed this situation very carefully, we have concluded as follows:

The committee finds that, altho all branches were improperly notified by the press instead of direct thru the mail, we do not believe, however, that the lack of notice was intentional, but due to inexperience and inefficiency.

we, therefore, recommend the seating of Edward Rutledge and C. C. Mickey as the duly elected delegates from Nebraska.

COMRADE SOLOMON: Do I understand that these two delegates are the ones that received 12 votes?

COMRADE PANKEN: Yes.

COMRADE SOLOMON: Will you give me a little enlightenment on this situation: if these branches that elected these delegates received their information through the medium of this announcement in the press, and the others, who received information in no other way, also failed to see it in the press, why he ought to be penalized because of a condition which arose through no fault of their own, and

why wasn't it possible for the committee on credentials, or contests, to split the difference and seat one from one situation and another from the other situation?

COMRADE PANKEN: As a matter of fact, the comrades who contest the seats of these two delegates are not in Chicago; they are in Omaha. We can't split; we can't make it a 50-50 proposition. You can understand the situation of the Party there, with stockyards right in Omaha, having a vote in the convention amounting to five, just what the financial condition of the Party is in that state. Of course, we could not take that question up of splitting, and I don't know whether it would have been fit to do that, in any event. We either have to seat one or the other. If we found that there was an intentional failure on the part of the state secretary to communicate with the branches, we would have to find that this election was not properly conducted, and that they would not be properly accredited delegates. We found to the contrary, and, therefore, we recommend their being seated.

COMRADE TENNYSON: I move that the findings of the committee be concurred in, and the delegates from Nebraska be seated.

On being seconded, the motion was carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: The contest on the delegate from Iowa is like the one in the case of the contest in the state

of Wyoming. Comrade Schoenig presented his credential or it was sent. He did not appear before the committee, and on the face of the credentials it appears that he has been a member of the Party only since 1918. As I have indicated to you in the report in the Wyoming case, Section 4, Art. 9, requires a membership in the Party for a period of three years. We, therefore, move that he be not seated as a delegate in this convention.

COMRADE WEISS: Is there an alternate, who is eligible, that has been elected, or is there one eligible?

COMRADE PANKEN: No alternate has been submitted to the committee, and, as we are informed, there is no alternate given to the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE TENNYSON: As I was unable to understand the chairman of the committee, what state was that he mentioned?

COMRADE PANKEN: Iowa.

CHAIRMAN LEE: It means that he cannot be seated in the convention. That is what the motion means.

COMRADE PANKEN: Comrade Edwin Firth presented credentials from West Virginia. The contest is based upon the fact that he is not a resident member of the state of West Virginia. Comrade Firth appeared before the committee and stated that he is a member of Loyal Cook County, Ill. Sec. 4, Art. 9, of the constitution provides that no delegate shall be eligible unless he is a resident member of the

state from which his credential is presented. It is evident and we find from the statement made to the committee by Comrade Firth that he is not a resident member of the Party from the state which accredited him as a delegate. We, therefore, recommend that he be not seated.

CHAIRMAN LEE: For the reasons stated by the committee, it is moved that Comrade Firth be not seated as a delegate from West Virginia.

A COMRADE: I second the motion.

COMRADE TENNYSON: Is there any other member of the Socialist Party from West Virginia?

COMRADE PANKEN Yes. Comrade Snider.

COMRADE TENNYSON: Has he been a member for a period of three years, as required by the constitution?

COMRADE PANKEN: May I make this answer to the comrade: Comrade Snider was seated as a delegate from West Virginia yesterday uncontested.

CHAIRMAN LEE: One delegate from West Virginia was seated because of being qualified and his credentials in order. The other delegate was contested, on the ground that he has not qualified under the constitution. It is moved and seconded that the report of the committee on contested seats be concurred in, and Comrade Firth be not seated as a delegate.

Motion carried.

COMRADE ORR: I would like to ask whether the members of the contested states who have been seated, whether they have been notified of the fact that they have been seated, or whether the committee is authorized to notified them to that extent.

COMRADE PANKEN: The committee could not possibly notify these delegates that they are seated, because it was a question for the convention to determine.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The executive secretary will notify them as early as possible. Meanwhile, those of them who are present will take notice of the action of the convention or any of their friends may inform them, in order that they may take their seats at the earliest possible moment. They should report to the National secretary in order that the proper record might be made. Does that complete your report at the present time?

COMRADE PANKEN: Yes. That leaves eight more contests unaccounted for. We hope to account for them within an hour anyhow. If you want us to report back to the convention in an hour, I think we can do that.

COMRADE ONEAL: On the matter of seating the two Nebraska delegates, I voted for the reason that I wasn't satisfied with the information received from this committee, and for the further reason that I wasn't satisfied

in my own mind that the convention has acted rightly in seating the two delegates. I, therefore, move a reconsideration of the action on the Nebraska delegation, in view of presenting a motion. I have a right to vote for a reconsideration.

COMRADE: A point of order.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Oneal is not qualified to vote for a reconsideration, not having voted in the affirmative.

COMRADE BLOCK: I voted in the affirmative, and move to reconsider.

CHAIRMAN LEE: He now moves to reconsider the action of the convention in the matter of the delegates from Nebraska. The committee will briefly state the names, and the action.

COMRADE BEARAK: Point of order. The motion as it now prevails is that not until this committee makes a full report can we take up any other business. You have once voted to seat them. You can't reconsider it until after this committee makes its entire and complete report.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair is obliged to rules that it is perfectly good parliamentary law that a reconsideration cannot be taken until their business has been transacted, and no other business has yet been transacted.

COMRADE BEARAK: We cannot do any business until we get the full report of the committee on contests, as Chairman Panken says. So, I move that we take a recess for an hour.

COMRADE BLOCK: There is a motion pending.

CHAIRMAN LEE: There is no motion pending. It is moved and seconded that the convention now take a recess for one hour. The Chair knows of no motion pending. The motion to reconsider was ruled out of order.

COMRADE BLOCK: A point of order. My point of order is that no other business has been transacted. After the vote was taken on the Nebraska delegates, we took up other business and voted on other questions presented by the committee. Those having been disposed of, I think it is quite in order to reconsider the motion that has been passed.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I will have to rule on this point of order first. The Chair thinks that the ruling was technically correct. The Chair is inclined to think that the house wants to hear this motion to reconsider and to act upon it as quickly as possible. The Chair is, therefore, going to reverse itself, and entertain the motion to reconsider.

COMRADE BLOCK: I would like to ask the chairman of the committee one or two questions.

CHAIRMAN LEE: On a motion to reconsider, you must be

confined to a mere statement, as briefly as possible, of the reasons for a reconsideration.

COMRADE BLOCK: Preliminary to those reasons, I would like to have some information from the committee. I would like to know how many good-standing members there are in Nebraska, or was at the time of this election of these two delegates by twelve votes.

COMRADE PANKEN: The state secretary told us that in the city of Omaha there is 70 plus 44, making 114, out of which number there was 30 or thereabouts that were not in good standing. Then, there were members through the state, some at large and some in small locals, who were not functioning; that he had attempted several times to call a meeting of the State Executive Committee, but that he was unable to do that; that none of those whom he addressed the invitation to come to the State Executive Committee meeting responded. That is the situation.

COMRADE BLOCK: Didn't the state secretary know how many members there were outside of the city of Omaha?

COMRADE PANKEN: He had only been state secretary two months.

COMRADE BLOCK: How many branches in the city of Omaha?

COMRADE PANKEN: Two.

COMRADE BLOCK: My reason for moving to reconsider is that it is absolutely unfair for us to deprive the larger membership of Nebraska having representation on account of the dereliction of the state secretary. It is the business of the state organizer at Omaha to deal with that dereliction, and these two delegates, who are here, are not the representatives of the membership of the state of Nebraska. If he saw fit to publish a notice in the newspaper, that is not the official notice, every member of the Party in Nebraska who was known to the state secretary, and surely every one of the city of Omaha could have been reached, was entitled to notice. If they didn't have the notice, I think the election is void, and those two delegates should not be seated.

CHAIRMAN LEWIS: The question will recur, first, upon the question to reconsider, whether you desire to reconsider or not, and the question will then recur upon the action upon the report of the committee. The first question is, Shall we reconsider our action in the Nebraska case.

The motion was lost.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: May I inquire, for my own information, and for the information of the delegates and visitors, whether this is one of those states where they have been tearing after socialists for the sake of affecting the work for democracy?

CHAIRMAN LEE: That is entirely out of order.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: It is just to get an idea of conditions in Nebraska.

CHAIRMAN LEE: There are often things that ought to be said and haven't been said, and then the convention pass on to some other business. We can't help it. Let's try to go ahead in order. We are not, at the present time. The committee states that it will be ready in one hour.

COMRADE PANKEN: I am confident that we will be ready by five o'clock.

COMRADE BERGER: I move that we adjourn for one hour.

A COMRADE: I second the motion.

A COMRADE: I would like to make an amendment to Comrade Berger's motion, that we adjourn until six o'clock and come back for an evening session.

A COMRADE: I second it.

CHAIRMAN LEE: It is moved that the convention adjourn for one hour. It is moved as a substitute that the convention take a recess until six o'clock, and then assemble for an evening session.

COMRADE BERGER: My experience in socialist and labor conventions goes back for a good many years, and it has taught me one thing, especially at the beginning of a convention, that you will save a great deal of time if you don't have any evening sessions, but give the various delegates and the

committees time to transact business. Now, for instance, tonight to give the delegates a chance to work up resolutions and motions and prepare for such business as they want to transact in this convention. Tomorrow we will elect the committees, and they will all be ready for business, and that is why I say we don't want any evening session. Let's get together again at five o'clock, and stay in session until probably seven, and then go home and prepare for the work for tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Let me call attention to one of the rules adopted yesterday, which possibly not all the delegates have carefully considered: "All resolutions or communications which are referable to any special or standing committee must be submitted not later than the close of the third day's session, except by unanimous consent." Unless by unanimous consent, you cannot, after tomorrow, introduce any resolutions upon subjects covered by the standing committees.

COMRADE WEISS: Apropos this situation, if the convention has not started its business until the third or fourth day, as now seems likely, that action will, of course, be null and void, and some other action will be taken. No committees have been appointed, and it is quite likely that they will not function before tomorrow or the day after. I, therefore, suggest that the amendment is a proper one; that the question before the house is that this contest matter be

settled and settled without further delay, and, if we keep dilly-dallying along, adjourning for an hour, and then recessing to reconvene tomorrow, the thing will drag on another day, and there will be three days gone. It is a matter that should be settled. Everybody is on edge to know what is going to happen as a result of the action of the contest committee. I, therefore, urge upon the members the importance of attending a session this evening. The question of presenting resolutions and motions is of minor importance. We spend most of our time in conventions passing resolutions and motions. That's about all we have been doing in a good many states. I know that is so in New Jersey. I, therefore, urge upon the members the importance of attending a session this evening so that this matter may be thrashed out.

CHAIRMAN LEE: It is moved and seconded that the convention take a recess for a period of one hour, the committee on contests having stated that they will have the rest of the report in an hour. It is moved and seconded as a substitute or amendment that the convention take a recess until six o'clock, and then assemble for the evening session.

The substitute or amendment being put, it was carried by a vote of 60 to 44, a division being asked, after the Chair had declared the amendment lost by a viva voce vote.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The convention will, therefore, take a recess until six o'clock, to meet for the evening session.

Sunday, August 31, 1919.

6.00 o'clock, P.M.

The convention was called tomorrow by Chairman Lee, pursuant to adjournment.

CHAIRMAN LEE: We have here a communication sent to the Socialist Party of America, which seems proper to present at this time to the National convention. It is from the Socialist Party and the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Mexico:

Secretary of the Socialist Party.

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade:

In its general session held on August 8, 1919, the Socialist Party of Mexico passed the enclosed resolution, protesting against the conspiracy of imperialistic and financial interests to bring about intervention in Mexico by the Government of the United States.

We feel that a vital moment has arrived in which the concerted action of the proletariats of both countries may possibly thwart this latest manifestation of capitalistic greed, and thereby prevent the useless sacrifice of thousands of lives, as well as give the world a striking proof of

working-class solidarity as a force superior to imperialistic patriotism. The Mexican proletariat does not want war; nine years of incessant revolution and civil strife have made of him their chief victim. The revolutionary ideals for which he fought have not, so far as he is concerned, been realized, due to the continued intrigues of the dispossessed landholders, the clericals and the menacing attitude of foreign capitalists whose governments uphold them in their refusal to comply with the new industrial and economic legislation. As a result of these intrigues the country has been held under military rule, invariably fatal to the aspirations of the proletariat. If left to itself, the Mexican people will be able to defeat these internal enemies within a comparatively short time, thus clearing the road to economic and social regeneration; but not only is internal trouble being fomented deliberately by the forces of reaction, to keep the country in a state of perpetual unrest, but external aggression is also threatened.

Foreign intervention, be it economic, political or military, besides being a rank violation of Mexican sovereignty, means the throttling of the growing labor movement in this country whose aim is the liberation of the proletariat from the old feudal oppression of hadendado and priest, and from the modern capitalistic exploitation. Behind all the talk

about the necessity of intervention to guard property rights and save lives, lies the real reason which motivates every imperialistic aggression on weak and defenseless nations-- the lust for huge natural resources, unlimited raw materials and cheap labor. The capitalistic governments that have divided the world among themselves with which to exploit our vast riches unmolested by the presence of an independent Mexican government.

What will be the position of the Mexican proletariat under foreign domination, whether in name or in fact? One reads the answer in the history and present condition of other oppressed nations such as China, Egypt, India, Ireland, Korea, prostrate beneath the iron heel of military aggression and of organized high finance. Intervention spells to the Mexican proletariat sure defeat in his struggle for the economic liberty and his eventual extinction under the regime of relentless exploitation which twentieth century imperialism ushers into backward countries. It will also mean to the proletariats of the United States a strengthening of the grip of organized capital which they are endeavoring to loosen, for undeveloped countries rich in resources are the strongholds of imperialistic capitalism. It will mean also a long and tragic drama of destruction, rapine and killing, for despite the hopelessness of defending itself

against a nation so rich and powerful as the United States, it will not be hard to arouse a sentiment of fanatical patriotism in the majority of the Mexican people, which would urge them on to fight to the last man to resist such an unjust and unjustifiable aggression. Is our proletarian brother of the United States ready to aid and abet the crime of intervention by passive acquiescence at this juncture? Is he ready to lay down his life or to sacrifice the lives of his Mexican comrades for the kind of patriotism that is manufactured in Wall Street?

The Socialist Party of Mexico is doing its best to prevent any action from this side which may precipitate the conflagration, and will refuse to participate in any act which tends to provoke war, but we require the effective cooperation of the Socialists and proletarians of the United States. We appeal to you to rise to the situation, to exert your tremendous influence thru an organized and concerted economic protest, to bring to bear all the power of direct action in order to prevent this capitalistic coup. Do not be victimized by the lying propaganda which declares the Mexicans themselves are asking for the protection of a civilized government. The Mexican proletariat is not satisfied with his present condition, he has initiated a struggle against the capitalistic class which exploits him. But the progress

that we are making against a comparatively weak and unorganized adversary will be crushed under the weight of that great organized force of International Capitalism which today conspires to kill the SOCIAL REVOLUTION thruout the world. The time has come to demonstrate effectively the real power of the proletariat, by successfully opposing the spread of economic imperialism.

Adolfo Santikinez.

CHAIRMAN LEE: ...There is enclosed a copy of resolution adopted by the Socialist Party of Mexico:

In its session of August 8, 1919, the Socialist Party of Mexico adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Capitalistic interests in the United States and England are conducting a tremendous publicity campaign and utilizing all possible political, financial and economic levers for the purpose of driving the American Government to intervene in Mexico, and

WHEREAS, Whether intervention comes thru military intervention or indirectly thru the purchase of elections, the bribery of officials or the establishment of a government more submissive to capitalistic interests, it is equally dangerous to the proletariat of Mexico, and

WHEREAS, Mexico, if kept free from the grip of alien

capitalists can afford ample opportunity to the working class to secure industrial freedom and genuine control of the government; but if foreign intervention comes, her toiling masses will be unable to break the chains of slavery for decades and perhaps for centuries; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Socialist Party of Mexico , in regular meeting assembled on this the eighty day of August, 1919, denounce intervention by any foreign government or group of foreign capitalists as an attempt to extend economic imperialism into Mexico, thereby hindering the progress of the Mexican proletariat towards industrial and social emancipation and strengthening the grip of imperialistic finance thruout the world; and

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Socialist Party of Mexico unites with Socialists the world over in denouncing war and refuses to lend itself to any act which might provoke war, but will nevertheless oppose intervention as detrimental to working-class interests here and everywhere and calls upon the Socialist and Labor Parties of every country to denounce it likewise and by means of collective economic action, to render such an intervention impossible; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Socialist and Labor Parties and Publications of Mexico and the United States and Great Britain.

Signed

Francisco Cewantes Lopez	Adolfo Santikinez
Sec't of Interior	General Sec'y

(Loud applause.)

COMRADE BRANDT: I move you that the secretary be instructed to immediately answer the communication; also informing them of our fraternal greeting, and that we will do all that is in our power to prevent intervention in that country; further, that we are electing a committee on foreign relations, and the communication shall go to that committee for further action.

A COMRADE: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN LEE: It is moved and seconded that the secretary of the convention be instructed to immediately reply to the Socialist Party of Mexico pledging our Party to do all in its power to prevent American intervention in Mexico, and further that the letter and resolution received from the Mexican Socialist Party be referred to our committee on Party Principles and International Relations, when elected, for further consideration and recommendation. Are you ready for the question?

COMRADE GERBER: I suggest that we change the motion to read; instead of the secretary of the convention, that it be the executive secretary of the Party. I think anything like that should come from the executive secretary of the Party

and not simply from somebody who is secretary of a convention that meets today.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I suppose nobody will object to that change, and the executive secretary will reply.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

COMRADE BLOCK: At this time I would like to have a few moments, on the proposition of several telegrams being sent by this convention. It will take but a few minutes to read.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: In connection with the last motion, may I have the floor?

CHAIRMAN LEE: Will you yield the floor, Comrade Block?

COMRADE BLOCK: Yes.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move you that we instruct the Committee on International Relations to consider the advisability of sending a fraternal delegate to the convention of the Socialist Party at Mexico, which, I understand, is to take place in the next couple of weeks, some time in September.

CHAIRMAN LEE: If there is no objection, I think we may take this as a recommendation to that committee, and without a vote, probably. If there is no objection, the Committee on International Relations, when elected, will be instructed to consider the advisability of sending a fraternal delegate from the Socialist Party of the United States to the

National Convention of the Socialist Party at Mexico, which is to be held in the near future. The Chair hears no objection, and the committee, when elected, will have that instruction. Delegate Block asks unanimous consent to introduce at this time certain telegrams or messages of greeting to be sent by the convention.

COMRADE: Point of order. I understood we would transact no business until the committee on contests had reported.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair didn't notice that the committee on contests had come in. Do you object to these greetings being sent at this time?

COMRADE: Yes.

CHAIRMAN LEE: There's an objection. The committee on contested seats will report.

COMRADE PANKEN: There is a contest on the delegation from the State of Utah, as I have informed the convention this afternoon, and we have now arrived at a decision on that contest. The situation in Utah is as follows:

Comrade C. T. Stoney, of Salt Lake City, was elected a delegate to the convention by a referendum vote of the membership in the state. On the 10th of August, 1919, after the tabulation of the vote, the State Executive Committee met. There were some charges at that time presented to the

State Executive Committee against Comrade Stoney, and at the same time the advisability of a state convention was discussed, and the State Executive Committee decided to call a state convention for the 17th of August of this year. At the state convention on the 17th of August, 1919, it was disclosed, so the comrades whose seats are contested, told the committee, that Comrade Stoney, who was state secretary, had recorded or certified fifteen votes for himself from Local Logan as a single delegate to the convention. I will read to you now the charges and the findings of the committee: "The charge is that the delegation was elected by improperly called state convention; that the election of said delegates by the state convention set aside and made null and void a previous referendum vote of the entire membership; that the convention was not legally called." The committee comes to the conclusion that, as a matter of fact, Comrade Stoney, the contesting delegate from Utah, was elected by fraudulent balloting while he, as state secretary, certified fifteen votes for himself from Local Logan at the time that said Local had no right to cast any vote. We, therefore, find that Comrades R. E. Richardson and E. F. Hyde, whose seats are contested in this convention, were properly elected. Since there was no time between the 17th of August and the 30th of August to call for a referendum, the convention then being in session, the only thing that

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they could do was to elect these two comrades as delegates to the convention, and we recommend that they be seated.

CHAIRMAN LEE: you heard the recommendation of the committee. I take it that it is moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted and that Comrades R.E. Richardson and E. F. Hyde be seated as delegates from the State of Utah. Are you ready for the question?

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: There was a contest on one of the delegates from the State of Pennsylvania, Comrade Edward J. Horacek. The committee finds that the contest is not sustained, and that he was properly elected and that he is entitled to a seat in this convention, and so recommends.

A COMRADE: What's the reason for the contest?

COMRADE PANKEN: That he participated in the Left Wing Conference in New York and has been active in the Left Wing movement. (Laughter.)

CHAIRMAN LEE: The committee recommends that Comrade Horacek be seated as a delegate in the convention. Are you ready for the question?

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: As I reported this afternoon, there is

two delegates from the state of Minnesota. The situation in Minnesota is a rather involved one. The State Executive Committee of the state and the state secretary evidently did not work in agreement and accord, and the delegation was elected by referendum vote. The State Executive Committee then met, and they elected a new delegation to supersede the other, and they charge as follows: That the secretary permitted the Ukrainian local of Minneapolis to nominate delegates and sending their nominations to vote on. Second, that the suspended locals and federations were permitted to participate in the balloting of the candidates and their vote was tabulated with those of the other locals. Third, That the secretary systematically failed to send ballots on the nomination and election of delegates to locals who were known to oppose the contesting delegation. Fourth, The canvassing board was not convened to count the ballots and tabulate the same.

Comrade Friedman appeared for the delegation; he is a member of the State Executive Board, and contested the seating of Comrades Jack Carney, Chas. Dirba, Carl Haglund, H. Holm, C. A. Hathaway, Carl Skoglund and Jos. Ungar. Comrade Carney appeared for the delegates whose seats were contested, and admitted the truth of the first, second and fourth complaints stated in the charge, and denied the thirs. The

third is that the secretary systematically failed to send ballots on the nomination and election of delegates to locals who were known to oppose the contesting delegations. He further stated that, even if your committee recommends the seating of the delegation represented by him, and for whom he spoke, such delegation would not accept a seat in this convention. Your committee---

COMRADE KRUSE: A point of order. Would that really come under a report on a contest?

CHAIRMAN LEE: This is not a question to the committee. I supposed you rose for some question to elucidate the report. The committee will proceed.

COMRADE PANKEN: Your committee finds that the documentary evidence submitted to your committee justifies the position taken by the State Executive Board, and recommends that Comrades Chas. S. Wells, Andrew Hanson, T.E. Latimer, Geo. Hoffman, S. Friedman, J. Soltis and H. L. Kramer be seated as the duly accredited delegates from the State of Minnesota.

CHAIRMAN LEE: you have heard the report of the recommendation of the committee. Are you ready for a vote?

COMRADE ONEAL: In order that we may be able to better discuss this entire case, it would be well for the chairman of the committee to tell us what these documents are upon

which they base their recommendations. He merely mentioned that he has such documentary evidence. We want to know what they are.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The committee will give the answer.

COMRADE PANKEN: We have before us the Minnesota Bulletin, showing a tabulation of the vote. In the Bulletin, it appears that the Southern Slovak-Slavish Federation voted, the Ironton Language Federation Branch voted, the Minneapolis Lettish Federation Branch voted, the Minneapolis Lithuanian Federation voted, the Russian Branch voted, the Scandinavian Branch voted, and the Ukrainian Branch voted. We also had this question, as to whether the State Executive Board had been recalled, and it was submitted to us, and it was not denied that the state secretary sent out the following: "The next meeting of the State Executive Board will be held Monday, evening, July 21st, at eight o'clock, and every member and alternate is urged to attend, regardless of the recall. The State Executive Board is in duty bound to carry on the current business of the state organization, even if the recall is carried." So that they admitted or conceded that the State Executive Board continues to act as the duly constituted and authorized State Executive Board for the State of Minnesota. In addition to that, there were two affidavits; one affidavit from four comrades, who were

secretaries of branches in Minneapolis of the Socialist Party, in which they informed us that no ballots were sent to them for the purpose of making possible their voting on the election of delegates to the convention. Another affidavit was submitted to us from comrades who are members of the canvassing committee, the committee that is to count the ballots, in which they informed us that they were never informed nor were they requested to appear and take part in the canvassing board to canvass the votes as they were sent in to the state office. These documents are in our possession, and they have been submitted to us.

COMRADE WEISS: I would like to ask whether this delegation that the committee recommends be seated has been elected by the membership of Minnesota or whether it has not.

COMRADE PANKEN: No, it has not. It has been elected by the State Executive Committee.

COMRADE WEISS: Has it been elected or appointed?

COMRADE PANKEN: Appointed by the State Executive Committee. They had no time to send out and call for nominations on the referendum vote, and we follow the same policy in the Minnesota case as we did in the Utah case.

COMRADE WILSON, of Illinois: I would like to ask the chairman of the credentials committee what reason the party gave for stating that, if the delegates were seated in this

convention, they would not take the seats?

COMRADE PANKEN: I don't know whether Comrade Carney would want me to state just what reason he advanced.

COMRADE WILSON: I think the convention ought to know.

COMRADE PANKEN: But, it is a matter of public record. There was a great number of comrades and delegates at the hearing. The hearing was very crowded all the time. I must say everybody was vitally interested in what we were doing in the committee room. He said that he would not take a seat in this convention because it wasn't a proletarian party, and because the "left wing" delegates had been excluded from the convention.

COMRADE WILSON: Was there anything developed in the hearing before the contest committee about the state convention held at Minneapolis last---

COMRADE PANKEN: No.

COMRADE WILSON: These others you recommend be seated were appointed by the executive board of the Party in Minnesota. Anything develop about Comrade Germey going to Minnesota and getting that executive board together and having these delegates appointed?

COMRADE PANKEN: No. All we got in the hearing was that Germey did go to Minnesota and had a meeting with the State Executive Board; that he got them to appoint delegates, it was not brought out.

COMRADE HENRY: I would like to ask the chairman of the committee if Comrade Carney didn't tell this committee that, regardless of the statements of some of the comrades that they didn't get ballots, that he didn't make the statement that ballots had been sent to all the locals, and, if any of them didn't receive them, it wasn't his fault.

COMRADE PANZEN: No, he didn't say that. What he did say was this: that he doesn't know of his own knowledge whether they were sent, but he assumes that they were sent, and that his assumption is as good as the evidence of the four secretaries whose affidavits were submitted to us: These ballots may have been sent through the mail, and they may have been mislaid somewhere or gone astray.

COMRADE HENRY: I am not in favor of seating any delegation where the rank and file have had a chance, as was reported to that committee from Comrade Carney of Minnesota, where quite a number of comrades--I forgot just the number--did participate in the election of delegates. If I heard the facts in the case, I understand that a great majority of the comrades of Minnesota were active and participated in the referendum, which leads me to believe that the referendum was more or less honest--I don't know that there was any small holding up of the ballots by some few locals or branches or not--but the facts are, from what I heard in the committee room, that there was a large number of comrades of Minnesota that did vote, that were in favor of the o-

original position of Comrade Carney and the rest of these comrades that they should represent them in this convention, and I am not in favor of seating the delegation from Minnesota, since a large number of the membership have signified their desire for another set of comrades to represent them here. A part of an executive board, as it was there--as it seems they didn't all agree and didn't all function together--a part of an executive board appointed a delegation to come here that is not in harmony with the feelings of the comrades in Minnesota, if I can judge the statement that was given before this committee, and I am not in favor of seating these delegates that were appointed by the executive committee. Rather would I see that the comrades be seated that the membership voted on, regardless of some of the things that might be brought up that will tend to throw sand in the eyes of the comrades in regard to this case. (Applause) I want to see the sentiment of the rank and file backed up just as near as possible. I want to see those comrades get what they want, and I believe that I am more willing to trust the sentiments of the comrades of the rank and file, where twelve or fifteen hundred voted for delegates, which showed the sentiment, showed what they wanted, rather than four or five members of the state executive committee. I am in favor of seating the men, whether they want to come in here or not, but, as a matter of justice to

the boys that cast their votes in the referendum, that the men be given a chance, if they want to, to sit in this convention, since they did get the votes from the rank and file for delegates to this convention. (Applause.)

COMRADE GERBER: I move an amendment to the motion. The motion, as I understand, is that the committee seat Comrades Chas. S. Wells, Andrew Hanson, T. E. Latimer, Geo. Hoffman, S. Friedman, J. Soltis and H. L. Kramerman. I move as an amendment that this convention do not approve of the recommendation of the committee, do not seat these delegates, but neither does this convention seat the other delegates.

COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE GERBER: I agree absolutely with Comrade Henry in what he said. And, I think more. It is not only for us to get the expression of opinion of the comrades, but I think this convention ought to establish a rule that a state committee or state executive committee or any other committee cannot appoint or elect delegates to a convention. (Applause). That we ought to establish a rule that these delegates to this convention should be elected by the rank and file of the membership, and nobody else. This is not the U. S. Senate, as it was prior to the amendment, but it is a representative body of the rank and file of the membership of the Socialist Party, and should be so. I am, therefore, opposed to the seating of these delegates, who were

elected or appointed by the executive committee or state committee. I, equally, however, oppose the seating of the other delegation because, as long there were a certain number of branches and locals in the state that didn't receive ballots to vote on the delegations to the National convention; because, if you will establish the precedent here that it is sufficient that one or two branches or three branches have voted, and that is sufficient to elect a delegation, you will open the door to all kinds of corrupt Tammany tactics, and we don't want that in the Socialist Party. (Applause) Whether it is the fault of the secretary, or whoever's fault it is, I think it is the secretary's business, and, by making this precedent here, we will make it the business of the state secretary that, when he sends ballots out for a referendum vote, whether it be an election of delegates to a convention or whether it be any other question that may be before the members, that he make it his business to follow it up with another letter inquiring whether they received their ballots or whether they didn't, so that he can send them another set of ballots in case they didn't receive the first set of ballots; and, I think we owe it to ourselves and to the Party that we establish a precedent at this convention that this convention and the conventions of the Socialist Party must be composed of delegates representing the membership of the

Socialist Party, and that each and every member of the Socialist Party get an equal chance and an equal right to vote for those comrades that he or she wishes to vote for.

COMRADE BIRCHER: The motion of the committee, I believe, is out of order, because of the appointment of the committee, or the delegation. The amendment, in my estimation, is just as much out of order because of the fact, as it has been mentioned here, that fourteen or fifteen hundred members have voted on it is referendum. If they have voted, it shows that the party membership has had an opportunity to vote. It is said that some branches have not received their ballots; that some of the branches have not received their ballots is altogether too possible and too probable. We know that we have had quite considerable trouble with the postoffice authorities, and, if we are to believe the statement made by the National Committee that tons of literature and mail have been held up in the postoffice, then we must also believe the state secretaries that they have sent out the call that they have sent out the ballots and that they were held up by the postoffice authorities in some way or another. If they were sent out by the secretary, and if they were received by some branches, naturally they should have been received by others. If they were not, there is no doubt some one has heard about the casting of the vote for delegates, and there should have been a protest made on

the part of the branches that were awaiting a thing of thing of this kind. We can't say they didn't know anything about it. All the Socialist papers were filled with the coming convention. It cannot be said nobody knew anything about it. They knew that a vote was coming, and that a vote was being carried on, and should have asked for it. I believe that the amendment should be voted down, since the delegates elected by the membership of that state have had an opportunity of expressing their opinion.

COMRADE NAGEL: I was a member of that committee, and I wish to state now what occurred there. There was no Tammany tactics, and I presume that the gentlemen on the stand know more about Tammany tactics than I do. It was a legal meeting, and Mr. Carney appeared there and he stated that he represented the Minnesota delegation.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Will you allow me to interrupt you for a moment? I think you misunderstood. Delegate Gerber's remarks about Tammany tactics referred to things that happened in Minnesota and not to things that happened in this building. Am I not right?

COMRADE GERBER: That's correct. Did you understand I referred to the committee?

COMRADE NAGEL: Yes.

COMRADE GERBER: No; that's wrong. I meant to say I didn't want to have any Tammany tactics by which you can supply ballots to one crowd to vote, and not another crowd of people that you don't want to. And, which may have been the case.

COMRADE NAGEL: I will explain this. This is what occurred. Comrade Carney appeared there, and he was given all the time that he wanted, and he was not interrupted. No man was allowed to interrupt him, and he made us quite an argument. But, his argument was not for the purpose of seating his delegation. That is the point I want you to understand. He told us, in substance, that he come there for the purpose of telling us, and he spoke for all of them, that, as far as this convention was concerned, it could go to hell, and that was his words, and he thought that that was the place where we ought to go (laughter) and I think he was sincere in it (laughter), and he was no Irishman, and he made a pretty witty speech. He stated that there was several of his connections in the Socialist Party, and he was now hooked up with the new organization, and we took him at his word; if he didn't belong to the Socialist Party, he certainly has no business in this convention, it doesn't make any difference how regularly

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they were elected. He was there speaking for them. It was a matter of admission on the part of Carney. He says, "We want nothing to do with you fellows. You are plutocrats, and I am the only proletariat in the United States." (Laughter.) And, we took him at his word, and I think he truthfully spoke. So, there was nothing for us to do. We thought that the state should be represented, and, if Carney would not associate with us, we thought probably that the other fellows would, (laughter) and we admitted them.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I am at a loss to appreciate the psychology of a delegation that sends a representative to tell our committee that, in case they are recognized, they won't recognize us. It reminds me of the fellow who woke up somebody else to tell him that he had two more hours to sleep. (Laughter) I absolutely cannot understand the psychology any more than I can understand the psychology of certain gentlemen who have the greatest contempt for political action and yet are opposing the regular Socialist Party in the primaries. I say that the demagogue of demagogues is he who constantly as the representative of the rank and file exclusively, and the other fellow represents God knows who. I always watch very carefully the self-appointed repre-

sentative of the rank and file. (Applause) As it stands here, it is shown conclusively that some of the rank and file voted and some of the rank and file did not, and, it also shows that certain members have been disfranchised by the National Executive Committee, in defiance of the constitution of the Socialist Party. Now, I say this: that this delegation that seems to be contesting the seat does not want the seat at all. I say that Comrade Gerber's amendment is wrong, because the state of Minnesota is entitled to representation, and, if they can get representation from the whole rank and file, then it is better representation if they get it from the state committee, which at least was elected by the whole rank and file. I say that the state of Minnesota is entitled to representation; that the committee is willing to represent Minnesota and is willing to sit in the convention, and does want to be with the Socialist Party and the Socialist Party exclusively. And, therefore, I say that the motion to support the recommendation of the committee should be carried by this convention, and the delegation recommended by this committee should be seated.

COMRADE KRUSE: Let us not get away from the fact that the issue before this convention is not the idiosyncrasies

of Jack Carney. Here is a movement in the state of Minnesota. It is a distinct and regularly organized socialist Party. It had a State Executive Committee, and that State Executive Committee was recalled by the membership in the state of Minnesota. It, thereupon, had a referendum. Perhaps that referendum was conducted properly; perhaps, it was not. The committee made no report on whether or not the absence of the illegal votes so-called would have made any material difference in the showing. However that may be, the members did express themselves through a referendum, and then this executive committee, that had practically been repudiated with the assistance of Comrade Germer, sent down some delegates here. Now, I maintain that this is not a convention of State Executive Committees, repudiated or otherwise. I maintain that this is supposed to be a convention representing the rank and file of the Socialist Party. It does not make a particle of difference, comrades, whether the delegates, the personnel of the delegates, want to serve. Certain comrades are entitled to sit in this convention, if they see fit to exercise their rights. If Jack Carney doesn't want to sit in this convention, that's his business; but, if the rank and file of Minnesota elected Jack Carney, we should have a seat here

for Jack Carney for him to occupy, if he sees fit to do so. The very least that should be done is the acceptance of this amendment. In Minnesota, we know that things are not always as balmy and pure in the Party as things ought to be. At least, it has that reputation. It is very likely that there has been some things pulled on either side; but, if we must come to a choice, we should at least give an even break to a delegated body that is elected by a referendum, though slight irregularities might occur in that referendum, as opposed to a body of delegates elected by a small executive committee, and assisted by the National officials, who are personally interested in the outcome of this convention. Now, I want to urge you that the very least that you can do is to support the Gerber amendment, that we will seat neither of these delegations, because neither of them comes to us with the proper record.

COMRADE GERBER: The difficulty with Comrade Kruse is that he knows about what other people do than those people do themselves, and, of course, assumes to be an authority for other people's acts. Now, if Kruse had taken the pains to inquire, I could have showed him that the State Executive Committee asked me to come up there, in-

sisted on my coming up there and asking the delegates to come down. Here was the situation in Minnesota: The National Executive Committee, as you well know, suspended certain foreign language federations. Notice was sent to all the state secretaries. They were informed that the branches of these federations, during the period of their suspension, were not allowed to participate in Party affairs. The State Executive Board of Minnesota passed a motion to approve the action of the National Executive Committee, but the state secretary, not satisfied with that, submitted a referendum to rescind the action of the State Executive Board, and, in that referendum to rescind the action of approving the action of the National Executive Committee, he permitted the foreign language federations that were interested to also vote, and, of course, their vote precipitated the action of the State Executive Board. Now, in reference to the recall of the State Executive Board, the same facts hold good. The suspended language branches were permitted to vote for the recall of the State Executive Board, and this result was not announced until the 18th day of August in the year of our Lord, 1919. Now, that is the attitude of the State Executive Committee. At the earnest solicitation of five members of the seven of the State Executive Board, and at that State Executive Board

meeting when the state secretary made a report the result on those referendums and admitted the fact that the suspended foreign language federations were permitted to vote, the State Executive Board passed a motion that the referendum be declared illegal, in view of the fact that these suspended language branches had participated, and there were not any 1200 votes cast, Comrader Gerber. I think some 700. In fact, some didn't have more than fourteen or fifteen hundred members. Now, those are the facts.

COMRADE PANZEN: Out of that 700, 314 came from the language groups.

COMRADE TENNYSON: Will you yield for a question?

COMRAD GERBER: No, not until I get through. So, that is the way that the election work was conducted, the state secretary over-riding the action of the State Executive Board. Here was the 18th day of August, twelve days from the convention. The state secretary refused, when the referendum was conducted, to give the State Executive Board the list of locals and branch secretaries that they may reach the members in the state with a statement of their side. In addition to that, the state secretary on the front page of the Minnesota Bulletin you have seen here printed a letter from the secretary of a suspended language branch urging the application of the "left

wing", and then stated in that "these candidates are pledged to the 'left wing' program, and for that reason you ought to support them." Now, there is nothing in the National constitution that prohibits the State Executive Committee from appointing delegates. I don't say it is a good idea to appoint them, but there is nothing in the constitution that prevents it. All it says is that they shall be elected at a certain time; nothing as to the method of election. Even as good a constitution lawyer as Kruse cannot show me how delegates shall be elected. When the state secretary, after the state Executive Committee adopted the motion to declare this referendum illegal, in view of the participation of the foreign language branches, said, "I don't recognize your action---

CHAIRMAN LEE: One minute, Comrade Germer.

COMRADE GERMER: "I don't recognize your action," he said, "You might as well take your hat and walk out." Of course, the State Executive Committee and I walked out. We held another meeting, and there the State Executive Board elected delegates in order to have Minnesota represented at this convention. It is true, as Comrade Carney said, "We don't want a seat, but we don't want the other fellow seated." Now, this is like the "dog in the manger," who will not eat themselves and prevent others from doing it.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I rise to amend the original motion, that the delegates elected or appointed by the executive committee of the state of Minnesota be given a voice but not a vote in this convention, and I make that as a sort of compromise, for this reason: I think that the state of Minnesota ought not, because of the unfortunate condition there, sever its relationship entirely with this Socialist Party and with the doings of the convention, but that, at the same time, because of the method of their election, which is not, I hope, approved by the majority of the members here, that they be not given the regular powers vested in all the other delegates. That is my motion.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I second that motion.

COMRADE TENNYSON: I asked the floor a moment ago. I still like to ask a question. You say that the State Executive Committee of Minnesota on the 18th day of August elected or appointed these delegates.

COMRADE GERMER: Yes. They did that, under the state constitution of Minnesota, which said that, where it is not specifically set forth in the constitution, the executive committee has power to act.

COMRADE TENNYSON: I wish to state, while I am on the floor, that the refusal of these delegates has been based upon the argument throughout this convention of affiliating with "left wing" organization, and adopting "left wing".

manifestations, until I want it satisfied in my mind whether or not there has been a "left wing" organization duly organized and constituted, that some or any or all of these delegates are affiliated with. In the first place, the constitution here sets out that we should not use, combine or affiliate or otherwise mix and mingle with any political parties or other organizations. Now, if we construe that in the strict letter of the constitution, I want to say to you that it will also bar us from affiliating with the various labor organizations. We have got to use some implication when we go to place a construction upon that. We have to use some consideration and deliberation, and the moment we go to mention the fact of delegates affiliating themselves with organizations in the various states--

COMRADE WILSON, of Illinois: I don't see that that has anything to do with the question that is up.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair will admit that the comrade is speaking far from the question before the house, but I didn't want to interrupt the delegate. I thought, perhaps, we would save time by letting it go. I will ask the delegate to speak as closely to the question as possible.

COMRADE WILSON: I rise to a point of order, that the matter being talked about is not germane to the issue be-

fore the convention. I want a ruling on it.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair will rule that Delegate Tennyson is discussing the motion before the house. He is not discussing it in a way that it appeals to the comrade there, as being pertinent, but the comrade will come as directly as he can to the actual issue.

COMRADE TENNYSON: Will you permit me to explain why I drifted off on that line of talk?

CHAIRMAN LEE: You have two more minutes.

COMRADE TENNYSON: The speaker who preceded me mentioned the fact that portions of Minnesota affiliated themselves with the "left wing" organization. I want him to find out if there was such a thing in existence, for the benefit of this organization. (Laughter)

COMRADE BAUSCH: I hope and trust that this convention of delegates will vote down all the motions and amendments before the house on this subject, for one reason. It may be true--it probably is true--that illegal and unfair methods were used in the state of Minnesota in the selection of the delegates to this convention. Delegate Caney has told this convention and the committee that, regardless of the fact whether you seat their delegates or not, they are not going to come into this convention. The accusation has been made, ever since the beginning of this convention, that this is not a rank and file

convention, and not a proletarian convention. Let this convention issue a challenge to Comrade Carney and the other delegates that he assumes to speak for, let this convention offer the seat to that delegation in here, and, if they refuse to take the seat, let us test the loyalty and the rank and file ability and the proletarian generalship of the rank and file that selected this delegation on the referendum ballot, regardless of the fact that that referendum may be contested. Let us offer the seat, and, if they refuse to take it, let us say to the rank and file this, that Comrade Carney and the rest of those fellows proclaim that they are the only proletariats that can be found in the United States. (Applause)

COMRADE BRANDT: I think if we passed on the position or rather took the position which the last speaker has put in front of us, then it shall not only apply to Minnesota but it must apply all around. The question now confronts us, if his position is to be given any consideration, is whether the language federation branches, where the federations were suspended, whether they should have a right to vote or not. I am affirming that they didn't have the right to vote, for a great majority, as I have been told, of the states would not give them the right to vote. If such was the fact, then that would be giving this one particular state an advantage which a number

of the others do not enjoy, and I, for one, will not assume that that position is correct. I take the position, and I am going to stand for it, that those branches have no right to vote; they have no authority to vote. Comrades, the next proposition confronting us is, this is no kindergarten. Let us know exactly what confronts us. Here is a group of comrades whom I have got more respect for, Carney and his crowd, than I have for a whole lot of others. (Applause) They have the decency and the manhood and courage to stand up and tell you where they are at, and there is a bunch of others that won't do that. (Applause.) I have more respect for people of that kind than I have for a whole lot of others that I know that's been around this hall. Now, comrades, what's the use for us to assume or attempt to think this is a kindergarten? I have kept in fairly close touch with the situation. I see the comrade's paper every week. I know what their position has been. We heard the report from this committee, that this convention can go to hell. The committee further informs us that he was authorized to speak for his delegation. He wants nothing to do with us; absolutely nothing. He is going into another convention. Pretty near every one who has kept abreast of the times knows that he intended to go there for quite a little while. Why should we make a school, a child's school, a kindergarten, out of this convention? I further

want to say that I am not in favor of the proposition of Comrade Gerber. I am in favor of the report of the committee. The state organization should have some representation. I hold it is not right on our part to debar the state from having any representation at all. I am in favor of the report of the committee.

(Cries of "Question.")

COMRADE BEARAV: I rise to call for the previous question.

A COMRADE: I move to lay the previous question on the table.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The delegate I happened to recognize moves the previous question. I have to put it to the house. The previous question is moved.

The motion for the previous question was lost on a viva voce vote. There were cries for a division.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The noes appear to have it, the noes have it and the motion for the previous question is lost.

COMRADE WEISS: Mr. Chairman,--

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: Comrade Weiss wants the floor.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I have recognized Delegate Weiss twice twice. I am trying to recognize different parts of the house, and different individuals, as well as I can.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: I have been trying to get the floor for the last half hour.

COMRADE WEISS: I have been, too.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: I want to say that I am in favor of the amendment of Gerber. It has been stated that, although the delegates selected by the executive board of Minnesota are not strictly represented, they ought to be given representation merely for the purpose of having the state represented. I don't believe in a representation that does not represent anything at all, and those delegates don't represent the rank and file or anything else in the state of Minnesota. I, also believe that the others cannot be seated for a very good reason. Either we have a constitution or we have not. They have not been legally elected and they cannot be seated because they are not elected. You cannot countenance an election in which part of the state is not permitted a choice. I think we ought to have fair play.

COMRADE CHASE: Speaking upon this question that comes before this convention, the controversy that should be settled and ought to be settled, and ought to be discussed and ought to come before this convention in order, that we can clear it--you keep hinting at it, you keep dodging it--the real question that ought to be settled by this convention before we go any further is, whether that executive committee had any right to unseat your national federations, your language federations. That is the question. (Applause) Whether they had any right to unseat part

of the membership of the Socialist party. That is the thing that is involved in this question of seating Comrade Carney and his delegates, or seating the other delegates. This all comes right into the same proposition, and we ought to face it right here tonight and have the thing thrashed out and have our decision made whether or not these actions, as we believe them to be, are illegal of our National Executive Committee, shall stand or not, or whether the Socialist Party should go ahead and reinstate its membership and try and organize this convention, as I think it ought to be, upon that reinstated membership. All of that comes into the question whether Comrade Carney shall be seated or not. You heard his statement about this committee, that he was anxious to come in to a convention where Ohio could be seated, where Minnesota could be seated, where the delegates that ought to come from Massachusetts and New York and the other states could be seated. He would be glad to come into such a convention. I think, myself, if there is any way to get at it in the proper shape, in order to get at this question, that we ought to thrash it out here tonight as to where the National Executive Committee stood upon that occasion, and I hope it will be thrashed out, and those branches, if they were illegally suspended and expelled on mere technicalities, will be reinstated, as they ought to be, that we can have a real Socialist convention, and

not a Socialist convention where delegates have been expelled before the convention, and certain members and delegates come from New York, and they are coming upon due stamps bought with these same "left wingers" or they could not come here as they come today. (Applause) The delegates from Massachusetts stand here in the same way. At the last referendum that was taken, the whole Massachusetts membership, they were all defeated for membership by the executive board in Massachusetts. Those are the facts that come to you, and these delegates come here and pray to God "Democracy." God help Democracy, if that is the kind of thing that is going to be passed out to us. I hope Comrade Carney will be reinstated, speaking upon that question. I hope that he and his delegates will be seated, and I hope that you will vote to reinstate the whole Socialist Part of the United States, as it ought to be, and have a real socialist convention that will go out and be able to fight the capitalists. (Loud applause)

COMRADE STEDMAN: I think the last comrade has raised the issue which should be decided upon this report, and that is the right of the executive committee to suspend the foreign federations. It is raised in this case because the votes were counted from the foreign suspended federations for the purpose of electing Comrade Carney and others. It arises under this proceeding, and it can dis-

nose of the entire issue. If the conduct of the National Executive Committee is disapproved and it was void, then Comrade Carney comes into this convention by the right of the action of this convention in overruling the executive committee. We may just as well face that now, and face the future of the Socialist Party. (Applause.) The die is cast! The lines are drawn, The communists are in the hall; they are holding their convention. Either we should go down and beg for quarter, or stand by our guns. (Loud applause) Directly and indirectly, you have been threatened for six months. They state the position to you now. Let's camouflage no longer. Have our debate out. Sustain the executive committee of the Socialist Party, or surrender to the communists. (Cries of "Good" and applause)

COMRADE HOAN: Mr. Chairman and comrades, I should like to ask this convention to consider what it would do with a state referendum held perfectly legal and honest and honorable in every respect, and subsequent to that time the delegates that were elected by the referendum vote decided to join hands with a Democratic party or a Non-Partisan League or some other organization, and told the Socialist Party to go to hell, if you please, and didn't care for seats in your convention. The fact is that this delegation had told us that they have joined hands

with a new political party. We have got to face the issue, that we have elements in this party that do not believe in political action. (Applause) And, I am here to say that those two elements are the working class organization of the world. Those who have and those who have not believed in political action never have and never will be able to mix together in a political organization of the Socialist Party. (Applause) The fact is that in the state of Minnesota you have that element that don't believe in political action. I was there in the campaign when the state committee resigned right in the middle of it to injure the chance of the working class electing their ticket in that state. I am here to tell you that the time has come to act. In the state of Minnesota, they have selected comrades in harmony with the principles of this Party, upon which we are founded and upon which we grew and develop and for which we are proud. Will you take in here men who tell you to go to hell, and they have already joined the communist party? Or, will you give the state committee of Minnesota the power that they have to send here men that want to join hands and will join hands in making this the greatest political organization. Will you elect that character of men who have no use for you, and will continue to sacrifice you, not only in your branches, not only in your meetings, but destroy every chance of success that the working class has in this country

not only to emancipate themselves from industrial slavery, but to attempt to assisnate that chance by political action? I trust that you will stand by the report of the committee and seat the delegates appointed by the state committee. There was no other means at their hands. The die is cast! Stand by your National Executive Committee, and, after this contest, we will elect the kind of National Executive Committee we want or elect the old committee, and let the rank and file that is left of this Party, that believe in political action, elect then the National committee they desire. I thank you.

COMRADE COHEN, of Washington, D.C.: Mr. Chairman,--

COMRADE WEISS: It is more than half an hour since I asked the floor.

CHAIRMAN LEE: It is more than an hour since some members have asked the floor. I will recognize Comrade Cohen.

COMRADE COHEN: I do want to make this point: If Comrade Carney says he would refuse a seat, even if it was granted to him, because the seat was refused to other delegates, if this is the position that he takes, he is not taking any different position than our comrade in prison, Comrade Debs, when he said he would refuse a pardon if the rest of the comrades are not pardoned. (Applause)

COMRADE WEISS: Once more I ask the floor.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I will recognize Comrade Haller.

COMRADE HALLER: I think we have had a great deal of

heated discussion. We have had so much heat that we have had a little less light than we ought to have. I want to try to bring you back to the matter that is before the house. The committee has made a report. In that report it has given it's reasons. It has given the facts as they found them. Now, those facts are not the question as to whether there is within the Party who seek to get control of the Party. That is beside the issue. So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to anybody forming any combination they will, so long as they remain within the Party. But, we have this: the committee reports to us that there was affidavits made before them that in four instances ballots were not sent to the secretaries of locals. Now, when those affidavits were presented to that committee, they raised the presumption that ballots were not sent to them. The burden, then, was upon the state secretary, Mr. Carney, to show that he had sent ballots. And, his statement as to that did not rise to the dignity of an affidavit: It didn't rise even to the dignity of a positive statement that he had sent the ballots. He simply said, in effect, that he must have sent them. Now, if it was only one case or only one local not getting the ballots, it might fairly be assumed that it was an oversight, and not intentional; but, when it comes to four, the presumption is that the ballots were intentionally withheld

from them. And, if that is so, they were intentionally withheld for a purpose, and that purpose was to disfranchise the members of that local. That is the question we have before us. Now, therefore, an election based upon such a proceeding necessarily can't stand, to say nothing of the position they now take that they will not take the seat, even if they are admitted to be seated in the convention. Now, the question then comes, What is the remedy? Shall Minnesota be deprived of all representation in this convention? Or, shall this vote be excluded? If that be done, then it would be within the power of any secretary in any state to prevent his state from being represented in the National convention, unless he knows beforehand that it is going to be represented as he wants it to be represented. No remedy. Absolutely no remedy. My idea about that matter is that, if you accept the report of the committee, you will come nearer doing right than by any other action that you can take. I would accept the report of the committee, and not visit any punishment upon the state of Minnesota by denying it representation. As to the comrade who perpetrated that trick, he may be dealt with. It is not germane to the question, but, if I was asked, I would say that, as to him, I wouldn't give him a chance to resign from the Party. I would expel him from the Party. There is the remedy.

A COMRADE: He is out.

COMRADE HALLER: Well, even so, I would expel him. That, then, would be a warning to others not to resort to any such tricks as that. It seems to me that the logical thing to do is to accept the report of the committee, and to seat these delegates who the committee recommends.

COMRADE WEISS: After two days waiting on the part of most of us, the crucial question has come up. In spite of the fact that we haven't been in accord, most of us realize that the question to be decided was the legality of the action of the executive committee in expelling more than half the membership of the Socialist Party. If I remember correctly, Comrade Carney, in stating his reasons to the committee for refusing to participate in this convention, was that he didn't recognize that action as legal. Comrade Carney is not alone in that position. That question has been raised in the minds of a good many of us, and the National Executive Committee is not so clear in its position. It is not so absolutely sure of its correctness, and the rank and file of the organization, and I speak for New Jersey, has repudiated that action; and, the rank and file has repudiated Comrade Goebel, who represents the state on the National Executive Committee. He has not been elected a delegate to this convention. They have not approved of that. There is a good deal of dissatisfaction, not only among the mem-

bers in New Jersey, but among the members in other states, with the action of the National Executive Committee. And, as far as Comrade Carney telling this convention, or the members of it, to seek accommodations in a warmer climate, is not altogether the result of a heated and frenzied passion. There was some reason back of that, and the recital of the facts, as Comrade Carney stated them and as I heard them did not altogether convince me that he was wrong. I, therefore, state to this convention that the only thing we can honestly do is to seat all delegates to repudiate the action of the exexutive committee in suspending these members.

COMRADE: And, go to hell, anyhow.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Don't interrupt the speaker.

COMRADE WEISS: The only thing that this convention can honestly do, in order that it may go down in history that it did make some effort to save the Party from the wreck that is now confronting it, is to repudiate this action of the National Executive Committee. The communists and the so-called "left wing" have been accused of trying to break our Party. If the Party is broken up, it is just as much and more the fault of the actions of the National Executive Committee as it is of the "left wingers." (Applause) The National Executive Committee has much to answer for. I came to this convention, as did the rest of the delegates from New Jersey, to take neither side. We want neither

"right" nor "left." We were instructed to come to this convention to do everything in our power to bring about a harmonious and united position in the Party, and to prevent either faction from using the Party for their own personal animosities, to make it a personal quarrel, and that's what it is. A certain group is controlling, and a certain group is trying to control. I don't agree with everything that the "left wing" has gone, but I certainly don't agree with what the "right wing" has done. (Applause.)

COMRADE BERGER: A point of order. (Cries of "Sit down," from the outside.) I don't want to see these hounds and high-binders-- (Interrupted by yelling.)

CHAIRMAN LEE: You have made your point of order, and your point of order, in so far--(Drowned by yelling)
Let the delegates take their seats, with the exception of Comrade Weiss. The house will be in order. (After prolonged disturbance.) I am going to say now that this convention, which consists of the delegates of this convention, is going to transact its business. It is advisable that delegates of the convention on either side or any side should refrain from loud demonstrations of approval or disapproval, because we will get along with business faster. It is necessary that those who are in the hall and who are not delegates to the convention should confine themselves to listening. There are here as guests and

witnesses of the convention. They are not here to take part in it's proceedings. Delegate Weiss has the floor for about one minute longer.

COMRADE WEISS: The situation seems to be about this; neither the "right" nor the "left" seem to be perfect, though they both have wings. Comrade Goebel said on the floor of the meeting of Local Essex that these federations were expelled in order that the vote would be right. I maintain that if that was the purpose, the Socialist Party and the National Executive Committee will be "lefts". The charge has been made by the so-called delegates of the "left" that we cannot afford to ignore it; that the New York delegation has more representatives than they are entitled to; that the Massachusetts delegation has more representatives than they are entitled to. Now, the left is being investigated; they are being investigated without being allowed to appear here on the floor of the convention. I ask that these people be investigated.

COMRADE GERBER: All right, we will stand investigation.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Gerber, you will be in order. Delegate Kruse will take his seat.

COMRADE WEISS: If we are going to have an investigation on the floor. There has been too much talk of steam-roller. I come here with an open mind, and the rest of the delegates from New Jersey, who came here, ready to hear both sides. We are beginning to suspect that a steam roller

is working, and it is working hard and well. (Applause)

COMRADE BROWN, of Indiana: Relating to what is being said here, and what is being done relative to the seating or unseating of the Minnesota delegation. I have been elected by the rank and file of the State of Indiana. Having been working in that state for the last two weeks, I believe I know the sentiments of the comrades and the co-workers in the State of Indiana. I don't believe that this sentiment is very much different from what it is in the other states throughout the United States. I came here to do what I could and think as best I can for the individuals who are at home, who didn't have the privilege of being delegates to this convention. I didn't come because I wanted to come, but because I ran 102 votes ahead of any other delegate elected in the State of Indiana. And, I am here. I am not here for the purpose of helping any steam-roller, or to help any one being run over by any steam-roller organization. I believe that, if the rank and file of the State of Minnesota want representation, they should have it. I believe they will come a whole lot nearer getting representation from the individuals who were elected than by getting a so-called representation from those who were not elected from the rank and file of the State of Minnesota. We must take under consideration that the average individual is a working man, who works up against a steam-heated oven, of about 1800° F., until

his brain gets loose and rattles like a peanut in the shell. These hard-working, horny-handed sons of toil don't see the same things and don't see the same things exactly like some of us fellows, who have cut-glass in our homes, and fine linen, and dress a little better than the rest of them. We are here representing the rank and file of the Socialist Party. And, the worst thing that the organization can do is to fail to let the workers back at home have representation, and I think this convention here tonight ought to go on record as giving those delegates from every state in the Union, who have been elected by the rank and file of the Socialist Party, the right to seats in this convention, so that it could not be said, when we go home, that this is an autocratic organization. (Applause) I think it is the most acceptable thing in the world for us to vote that those delegates, who were elected by the executive committee or the committee of the State of Minnesota, should not be seated; but, if any one should be seated from that state, it certainly appeals to me that it ought to be those that the working class in the State of Minnesota decided they want sent. I think this the only way for us to get out of the wilderness. If not, we will run against some things that we don't expect. I say this for the good of the organiza-

tion, and I believe that is the consensus of the rank and file, the individuals who are back home, and not in Chicago; but, the working class, whose only hope is in the great socialist movement, that it might be able to blossom and bloom on the steppes of Time, and make a government of, for and by the working class, and not by the plutocrats, food-hogs and profiteers. (Applause.)

COMRADE CLAESSENS: I have no intention to take the floor on this issue, as long as it is confined to Minnesota, but, in so far as the challenge has been made, we might just as well face it. The question of the federations is the issue.

COMRADE KRUSE: A point of order.

CHAIRMAN LEE: What is your point of order?

COMRADE KRUSE: In the order of business we have a certain place where this discussion should have come up. I was trying to get the floor to make this point before. I maintain that, even if we discuss this subject all night, that --

CHAIRMAN LEE: State your point of order.

COMRADE KRUSE: My point of order is this: the discussion on the question as to whether or not the National Executive Committee was right in expelling the federations is under another order of business, and is not germane to this discussion. We can't decide the question here, no matter how much we discuss it.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair holds that your point of order is not well taken. The delegates are discussing the question, in which this, among other things, is involved.

COMRADE KRUSE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Hoan will come forward and take the Chair.

COMRADE HOAN, vice-chairman, in the Chair: The decision of the Chair, having been appealed from, the question is whether the decision of the Chair shall stand as the decision of this convention.

COMRADE KRUSE: I make this appeal now for the sake of saving time; not for any purpose of obstructing the matter. I want to get this matter discussed, and discussed thoroughly, but I want it discussed at the proper time. We haven't any facts before the convention at the present time on this subject that we are discussing, and we will not have any facts before the convention until after the report of the National Executive Committee is before us, and then we can discuss this matter. Now, what is the use of talking about something that we know nothing about? If we go into this subject, I agree that it is the most important subject we have, but we have three motions on the floor, and anybody who has just put his application card into the

Party and has been to only one meeting knows that when discussion is had on any motion, it must be on the motion that is involved. Now, this is too big a matter to be handled on a subsidiary motion of this kind. You must get your report first. You must get your facts first. What's the use of having an "order of business" if you don't live up to it.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The case of the contesting Minnesota delegation, which is not being taken up for action, is based on several charges, among which is that certain suspected locals and fed rations were permitted to take part in the vote, and that is an essential fact. The fact of the suspended branches of the fed rations taking part in the vote is an essential and material part of the whole case. It is impossible for the convention to decide, or the delegates to decide, upon the question whether this or that delegation should be seated, or whether neither should be seated--we have all three propositions, I believe--without taking into account the material facts contained in the report and brought out in the discussion. It would, therefore, be entirely improper to exclude from the discussion of the Minnesota case the opinions of delegates discussing as to whether these members of these branches of the foreign federations have a right to vote. It is for this reason that

certain delegates, in discussing the Minnesota case, brought in that question, whether it was proper or improper for those branches to be allowed to vote. The Chair permitted the discussion to go on that line. No objection was made to that discussion until it had gone on for a very considerable time. Comrade Kruse then objected, and the Chair then ruled that this was a discussion, that it was pertinent to the question before the house, which is the motion, the amendment and the amendment to the amendment, concerning the action to be taken upon the Minnesota case. It is upon these grounds, to leave the largest liberty of discussion to the delegates, in order that every delegate, whether he discusses it or not, may know when he comes to vote or have that as well as the material facts in mind, that I ruled that this matter, to which Comrade Kruse objected, can be admitted in debate.

VICE-CHAIRMAN HOAN: I shall now put the question. Those voting affirmatively will vote to sustain the decision of the Chair. Those who vote in the negative will vote to overrule the Chair. (A viva voce vote was taken.) There seems to be some doubt. Those in favor of sustaining the Chair will raise their hands, and the tellers will count. Those voting to overrule the Chair, will do likewise.

The count showed 92 for sustaining the Chair and 28 against.

VICE-CHAIRMAN HOAN: The decision of the Chair has been sustained, and so ordered.

COMRADE CLAESSENS: I am sorry that we have to bring this up at this time. If the matter hadn't come up in the course of the debate, I would have been perfectly satisfied to accept Comrade Gerber's motion that, in view of the deplorable condition in Minnesota, we accept neither delegation. But, now, the gauntlet has been thrown to us. The question of the federations is flung into our faces. We are going to accept it, under this condition--I will speak for myself--that we will support the original motion of the committee. (Applause) The reason of that is: when some comrades here, particularly Delegate Weiss, of New Jersey, speaks of the "left wing" and the "right wing," making an arbitrary distinction and classification all her own, it might be the reflex of a legal mind. But, if the two of us were to go to a restaurant for dinner tonight, and she selected the left wing of a chicken, that does not necessarily show that I am going to get the worst of the bargain. You can be perfectly satisfied with the left wing. I will have had the right wing. And, that is the situation, my good comrades, in those sections of the country where we got this in time and prevented it from corrupting the organization, as it has unfortunately in New Jersey, and in many other states. I would be the last man to assume that the

members of the foreign federations are crooked. They are no more crooked or more honest than the rest of us here, but they were made unfortunately the dunes of the most crooked country politicians that the Socialist Party ever had. (Applause) And, I say that we have the opportunity of settling once and for all the idiotic condition that exists in the Socialist Party of the United States in which we permitted the affiliation of language federations to control the Socialist Party without the Socialist Party having a voice in the management of these federations. (Applause) We gave them translator-secretaries and offices; and, instead of translating information to the Socialist Party to these great masses who could not read or write English, they used their offices to villify and to black-ball every man that had the decency to mention the fact that he had been in the struggle and in this Party ten, twelve or fifteen years. And, during the war, they got their opportunity. They, with the assistance of the Government of the United States, brought about the condition we have in the Socialist Party. Although it is not commendable, it is mighty healthy, I assure you. The Government of the United States stopped our papers. It interfered with our mail. The only possible way of getting across anything pertaining to Party matters was individual sheets that were published here, there and elsewhere, that were

smuggled out to these members. Unfortunately, the Party was not in the condition--I don't know who to blame--but the condition is that none of our literature reached the extent of the so-called "left wing" group, and through those papersevery comrad who stood on the firing line ever since the Party has been organized had been branded as an Ebert, Scheidemann and a reactionary, and those poor dubs that came into the Party three or four months, believing what these self-styled leaders said, voted like sheep. I am not insulting the sheep. Sheep, at least, I think would show some sense of gratitude. But, they bolted. In New York we caught one gang just in time,--the Hungarian branch,--which was taken in 75 members at a clip, and the speech delivered at that meeting was, "Your red card will be your pass-port to the Soviet Republic of Hungary. All you have to do is to show your stand. Come in." And, they came in, and thousands of them came in throughout the country, who didn't know the difference between socialism, communism and rheumatism. (Applause) My good comrades, after the "left wing" leaders had engineered that move, they suddenly discovered that they had created a boomerang. When the Russian and Slovak and Hungarian thieves and intellectual misleaders meet, the whole police department of Chicago will be sufficient to keep their convention in order. (Laughter, and hooting.) You hear the accents.

COMRADE GERBER: It's the stockyard.

CHAIRMAN LEE: One minute.

COMRAD. CLAESSENS: One minute more. Let me tell you that some of you will be sorry that you didn't come here with gas masks. I say, even if this trouble had not come, sooner or later the Party would have to sever its connection with these federations, and let them control their own affairs in the language that they understand; but, not to have a voice in and power to control an organization whose purpose they have absolutely no knowledge of, and whose language they don't understand. It is a confession I know the members will probably make the most of. Well, the sooner we take this position, the better it is for all concerned. This issue is right to the point. I am glad it was brought out. I think this motion will give you the first understanding of the determination of this convention, if everybody walks downstairs.

COMRADE ENGDBAL: If we are going to have a wide discussion of this proposition, let's try to keep the issues squarely before us all the time. I want to speak for just a few moments in support of the amendment of Comrade Gerber not to seat either delegation. One of the delegations doesn't want to sit; the other delegation should not have a seat. We have had it hurled into our faces that this is a struggle between the communist party and the Socialist Party. I say that this is a struggle between the old

National Executive Committee and the Socialist Party of the United States. (Applause) I have had it hurled into my face by men who are not Socialists, but men who are sympathizers. They come to me and they ask me how is it that a full delegation comes in here representing 200 members from Michigan when they ought to have a delegation that represents 6000 before they can have a seat in this convention. They ask me about other states, how they happen to get in here with a full delegation, and they say, "Why, that's the way they pack a Republican convention. That's the way they pack a Democratic convention. That is the way the old machine is in all of the old parties, packing their convention when they try to put something over." I say that we are in favor of political action, and, when we say that we are opposed to--(noise drowns the speaker's words) don't let them hurl into our faces that we are anarchists. We have struggled in Illinois. Just as soon as the seven foreign language federations were hurled out of the Socialist Party, just as soon as the state organization of Michigan was thrown out of the Socialist Party, we in Illinois met, we in Chicago met, and we protested against that action by the National Executive Committee. We sent our protest to the National Executive Committee, and, when a referendum was inaugurated to repudiate that action, we sent in our sec-

onds along with the other organizations. And, in addition to the other acts of the old National Executive Committee, this referendum was also thrown out and was not sent to a vote. We in Illinois, as I said, did the best we could to maintain all the allied organizations, with the result that we come here with twenty delegates, uncontested. But, you can't expect, comrades, in a working class organization, where a spirit of rebellion and unrest is sweeping over the land, you can't help but have some of the members, some of the organizations, whether they are state or local, you cannot help but have them rise in rebellion against the kind of autocratic acts that have been put over by our National Executive Committee. (Applause) So, I say, the membership in Minnesota has elected a delegation; the membership of Minnesota by referendum has chosen comrades that they wanted seated in this convention. But, we are notified that these comrades don't want to sit in this convention. They don't want to take part in the deliberations here. Therefore, I say neither should the delegates chosen by the State Executive Committee in Minnesota, with the National secretary present, neither should that delegation sit in this convention. Therefore, I would urge support of the Gerber amendment, which says that neither delegation shall have a seat or a voice in this convention of the Socialist Party.

COMRADE GERMER: I would like to ask Comrade -ngdhal

a question.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Will Comrade Engdhal take a question from Comrade Germer?

COMRAD ENGDAHL: No, I wont.

COMRADE MARCUS: I move for the previous question.

A COMRAD.: Second.

Motion on the previous question lost.

COMRADE SHIPLACOTT: I have a substitute motion.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Too late. Roberts' Rules of Order are the authority, and we have a motion and two amendments.

COMRADE ONEAL: I am glad this question has come up, because we all recognize that it would come up sooner or later in the convention. The language federations do seem to be the crucial question that faces this convention.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: A point of order. We are discussing the question that, according to the decision of the convention and according to your decision, could not be discussed.

CHAIRMAN LEE: You are mistaken.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: We are discussing the question of the N.E.C., and the question before us is the seating of the delegates from Minnesota.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Your point of order is not well taken.

What the Chair ruled was, in discussing this case, it is in order to consider the validity of the suspension of those federations, because that is involved in this case. That decision was appealed from, and sustained by a very strong vote of the house. Delegate Oneal will proceed.

COMRADE ONEAL: It has been stated about the autocracy of the National Executive Committee, and that this is a struggle between the delegates and the National Executive Committee. Let me call your attention to the fact that last May, when the National Executive Committee took the action that it did in suspending the federations, it called this convention for the purpose of passing upon that action, for the purpose of investigating the vote upon which they acted, in order that they might be able to ascertain whether that vote justified the action at all. In addition to that, we suggested last May a proposition that would have avoided a struggle between the autocracy of the National Executive Committee and the delegates. We suggested last May that in our report here to this convention we recommend that this executive committee cease to exist with this convention, that the convention itself shall elect a committee to take charge of the affairs of the organization and proceed with the reorganization. We did that last May, and I say to you that, so far as we are concerned, after our report is submitted to this con-

vention, this executive committee no longer exists. It remains and it is up to the delegates to determine whether the evidence upon which we based our action was sufficient to warrant that action at all. And, let it not be forgotten that every ten or fifteen years in the Socialist movement of the world a wave of anarcho-syndicalism has swept over the Socialist movement of the world, and we all faced another wave after this world-wide war. Let me say to you the the "left wing" propaganda is behind the proletariat, the bourgeoisie state. I say to you that there is not an anarcho-syndicalist anywhere in the world but what will ascribe to that proposition. And you who stand with the "left wing," you who have been indulging in those adroit, those elusive phrases, those of you who have done that, you dare not go out in the open here, in the great cities of the United States, in great audiences and support that proposition, and at the same time say that you represent a political party. You can indulge in mass action of the proletariat and bourgeoisie state without ever casting a vote in your lives, and you know it. The difficulty here is that we have a camouflaged anarcho-syndicalism, and you haven't got the courage to stand for the thing that you really stand for, and speak for. (Applause) The issue is drawn in this convention, and we are going to draw it, and you are

going to draw it downstairs, too, dont you forget it. It is because of the fact that we realize that this wave, this periodical wave, finally found a secure lodgment in the language federations of this country, that we were forced to take the action that we did. Not, the evidence is before you in the report. Comrade Weiss says she comes here with open mind. Others claim to have acted in the same way. At the same time, she tells us that many comrades, including herself, back in New Jersey had all concluded that the National Executive Committee was a corrupt body. Perhaps not using her language, but she meant that very thing. What a peculiar open mind that is to come to the convention with. (Applause) We say to you that we took this action, comrades, with the evidence in black and white. The report has been read. One item of the report shows that 28 votes were transferred from Hillquit to O'Hare. Is that Socialist dealings? Is it Socialist ethics? Is it Socialist fairness? Is it the thing we want in the Socialist Party? If it is, I say to you, let's make an open alliance with Tammany Hall and be done with it. Talk about packing the convention. Comrades, wherever they got control of our local branch in the East, they disfranchises party members who have been members of the organization for 20 or 30 years. They said, Only those who believe in the "left wing" program should have a right to serve the Party as secre-

tary, as organizer, as delegates to the convention, as delegates to the county committee. One party was to play the deuce; the other was to close their lips. You didn't have a word to say in the organization. Talk about autocratic socialism. It was the flying wedge of revolutionary emotionalists swent off their feet by the world war. Just as much as the emotionalism of the revolutionary extremes, as the russians and the other proletariats of the Socialist Party who went out of the Party when the struggle was precipitated upon the world. So, there is the situation. I am glad that the issue was drawn. It has been drawn before. It was drawn in the old international in the days of Marx and Engel. We had to fight it there. We had to fight it in every congress, international and national, and we have got to fight for it here. So far as I am concerned, the Socialist movement is not going to be driven under ground, if I can avoid it, merely because there is a lot of hot-headed emotionalists and perhaps some ancient pamphleteers in the Party.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: You don't want to mix the issue of the executive committee, who sent four delegates, with the issue whether we shall let the "left wing" in the Party. One is too big a proposition, and the other is too small, to put them together and force us to decide the merits. We took it for granted, when we started the discussion, that

the exoulsion of the federations was more or less justified, under the circumstances. The issue in this case was not communism, anarchism or socialism; nothing of this kind. The Minnesota case is not the issue. It is a question of methods. If they were expelled, they had no right to proceed in the proceeding. Consequently, the election was wrong. But the second method of appointing a delegation of four by a committee of five or seven was not regular. I think neither side should be seated.

COMRADE McCA THY: I dare say that there is very few here but what will agree with me. I have been patiently waiting for some cessation of this mess. I, the therefore, ask all of you who have good intentions in your heart to stop this. I have been compensated for coming here. I come with no compensation, and I expect not to be compensated. Now, I don't think there is any one here who has got an open heart that wants to see this thing out more than I do. But, I would ask some one, who is capable of doing it, if there is two sides, to kindly favor themselves and ourselves to stop this mess before it gets too far as easy as possible. That's why I plead to those who are trying to represent the right, but it looks to me that there is an element that is deliberately trying to misrepresent.

COMRADE SOLOMON: I will try to strip the discussion of all ornamentation and embellishment. In my judgment, there is no such thing as an open mind in this convention. There may be a few who will insist that they are open-minded, but they are such a negligible factor that they cannot influence the issue materially one way or the other. If you succeed in making any difference in the alignment here today, that success will be only superficial. The fundamental issue is already here determined, and no amount of discussion will make any material difference. We did not come here, as far as I am concerned, to look for perfection. We came here to stand on one side of the question, and I tell you I stand flat-footed on one side of the question, because I believe it was right, not only right but expedient, and that's as good a commendation as you can get under a complex situation of this kind. That is exactly where I stand. What have you done here? You have been here for three days, and what have you accomplished? You have accomplished exactly what the people downstairs wanted you to accomplish. You have spent your time in idle discussion, while they are down forming an organization of the communist party. Here you have it placed before you by Comrade Carney that you can go to hell, and he won't sit in your convention. Somebody raises the question and says that he represents the people who voted for him. Do

you want and others like me to understand that the people who voted for him, those who didn't belong to the language federations voted for him and at the same time gave him the mandate to come to this convention and tell us to go to hell? If that is what they voted for him for, then, I want to tell you that we should not only disregard him but disregard the several hundred who elected him. (Applause.) That's talking frankly. That's putting it to you so that you can't possibly misunderstand it. If he represents an electorate that expected him to come here and tell you that he does not want a seat in your convention, you should not only dismiss him but, at the same time, dismiss those who voted for him. You know the die is cast, and Comrade Stedman spoke the truth. No matter what you do, the communist party will be formed, and, even if you support or refuse to support the recommendation of the committee investigating the referendum, that would not have any fundamental effect upon the situation at all. You could not possibly placate them, and the thing that we must make perfectly clear is that this debate is serving only one purpose, and that is the purpose of the comrades on the other side. Here we tried to send greetings to Eugene V. Debs this afternoon, and O'Hare and others in jail. The point was raised, and we haven't done it. Before we have done it, the people down-stairs

will have done it. You should have done a great many things by this time that you haven't done, and they will be getting ready to do those things, if they haven't already done those things. As far as the actual proceeding under consideration is concerned, whether we should seat the Minnesota delegation or not, the situation is made more complicated by the Gerber amendment. He tells us, and says it without qualification, that we should not seat the Carney delegation, but he mentions that without qualification or reservation. However, he does not take the proposition that we should seat the delegation elected by the state committee in the same unreserved and unqualified way. He leaves that open to discussion. Now, we have been referred to the provision of the constitution that, where it is not specifically provided against, it is in the judgment of the committee to appoint delegates. I would not accept the recommendation under those terms, because I think that would be unfair, even though the proposition may be open, and at the same time put that kind of compromise upon the recommendation and seat them here without a voice.

COMRADE MALKIEL: I move the previous question.

A COMRADE : I second it.

Motion to put the previous question carried.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Under the rules, the committee has five

minutes in which to close.

COMRADE PANKEN: I would like to ask this convention one question. The question has been raised by many delegates as to the advisability of seating these delegates because of the fact that it was appointed or elected by the State Executive Committee. I want to ask this convention why wasn't that very same question raised when the committee on contests reported on the Utah delegation? The very same situation or a similar situation existed in the case of Utah. In Utah, the delegation was elected by the convention, not in accordance with the constitutional provision of the state, but there was an emergency. A fraud has been perpetrated, and they have no time to send out a call for nominations. They have no time to send out a referendum. What happened in the state of Minnesota? A fraud has been perpetrated. Four branches of the Socialist Party were denied the right to participate in that election. Another fraud has been perpetrated, or rather a mandate of the Party has been ignored. The Party, through its duly constituted National Executive Committee, the Party through its functioning National Executive Committee, has suspended a language federation in the United States. A direction was given or the instruction was given to the state secretary, or was given to all the state secretaries, that these comrades who stand suspended cannot

participate in the election and cannot vote. Yet, in defiance of that mandate of the Party, violating that mandate of the Party, the state of Minnesota sent out ballots to the language group branches and refused and failed to send out ballots to the duly recognized branches of the Socialist Party. What inference are we to draw? Shall we draw the inference that it was a mistake, or shall we draw the inference, and the direct inference in this case, that those who were known to vote against this delegation were disfranchised, and those that had no vote were given the vote? That is the situation in this case. Let me put this to you very clearly, comrades. Carney said to me, when I asked him the question, "I won't sit in your convention." And, I am informed now by the newspaper men that a party has been organized on the floor below. Do you want this convention to elect a committee and send them down into that convention and ask Carney to come back? I, for one, for the committee say "no." They have cast the die. They have cast their lot with the communists, and those that want to go with the communists, let them go, and we will stay with the Socialist Party.

(Applause)

A COMRADE: Let them go right now.

COMRADE PANKEN: Right now. One suggestion for the com-

mittee. The committee agrees to accept Comrade Shiplacoff's amendment to the amendment that the delegates from Minnesota be seated with a voice but not a vote, (Applause) the delegates that we recommend to be seated.

CHAIRMAN LEE: As I understand, the substitute motion is to sustain the report of the committee, that the delegates, Wells, and others, be seated with a voice but no vote. The amendment is that neither of the two delegations be seated. (Cries of "What's the motion?" The original motion is that the report of the committee, as already amended, be sustained, that the delegation, consisting of Wells and others, be seated with a voice but without a vote. The amendment is that neither of the two contesting delegations be seated.

A COMRADE: Who made that amendment?

CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Gerber made that amendment. We will vote first upon the amendment that neither of the contesting delegations shall be seated.

The motion was lost.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The vote now records upon the motion that the delegation, consisting of Comrade Wells and others, be seated in this convention with a voice but without a vote.

The motion carried.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The committee will proceed.

COMRADE BLOCK: May I ask, in view of what we have just

heard, that I now have unanimous consent to read these telegrams? I hope they will not be objected to.

COMRADE GERBER: I move that it be granted.

A COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE BLOCK: I move the secretary of this convention be instructed to send the following telegram to Comrade 'Gene V. Debs:

"The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention assembled in Chicago, Aug. 30, 1919, sends to you, our beloved comrade Eugene V. Debs, our warmest greetings as well as renewed appreciation of the heroic part you are playing in the great struggle of the working class for emancipation. We pledge ourselves anew to do everything within our power to ensure your speedy release."

(Applause)

The motion was carried unanimously by a rising vote.

COMRADE BLOCK: I move that the secretary send the following telegram to Comrade Kate Richards O'Hare?

"The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention assembled in Chicago, August 31, 1919, sends to you, Kate Richards O'Hare, our loving greetings. We know that you are paying the price for all of us who are free, and we can only express our deepest admiration of your indomitable courage and loyalty to our common cause and ideals. We pledge ourselves anew to secure your speedy re-

lease."

The motion was carried by a rising vote.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I know that they did that with their whole hearts, that the officers in the room also stood up. They sometimes think they have to take their orders, but I know that they are capable of thinking as men. (Applause)

COMRADE BLOCK: I move that we send the following telegram to Comrade Morris Hillquit, who is still at Saranac Lake, N.Y., recovering from the long illness which has kept him there for the past year:

"The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention assembled in Chicago Aug. 31, 1919, wishes to express its deep regret at your enforced absence thru illness. The deprivation of your wise counsel is a loss deeply felt, and we hope for your speedy return to your accustomed place on the firing line in the workers' battle for justice and freedom."

The motion carried by a viva voce vote.

COMRADE BLOCK: I move also that we send this telegram to the New York Call:

"The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention assembled in Chicago, Aug. 31, 1919, sends congratulations to the New York Call on its great achievement of having secured during a period of blackest reaction and

suppression, its own building and its own press. May the Call continue to grow and develop and to carry on its fearless fight for the emancipation of the working class and the realization of Socialism."

The motion was unanimously carried by a vive voce vote.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: It seems that it is fail to send a telegram to the Rand school, for its work in this struggle.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Branstetter moves in favor of sending a telegram to the Rand School of Social Science, of which probably many of the delegates are informed; that the secretary be instructed to send, in the name of the convention, greetings and good wishes and congratulations for the success of the Rand School in this struggle.

Seconded and carried.

COMRADE ENGDAHL: I rise to make a motion. It has to bear on the same business that Comrade Block brought up a few minutes ago. I make a motion that the convention request Comrade Block to draw up the message, copies of which may be sent to all the Socialist prisoners, no matter where they are. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN LEE: I may state for the convention's information that Comrade Block will be glad to have the instruction, that he was already preparing a general statement of that nature, and I am sure that he will be glad to have the permission of the convention at this time to do it.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I would like to have this convention stand adjourned until ten o'clock tomorrow morning, on account of the Jewish federation having a party tonight.

COMRADE PANKEN: I may state for the committee that each and every one of the reports succeeding will excite a good deal of discussion.

A COMRADE: Not necessarily.

COMRADE PANKEN: I know just what time you have consumed on the Minnesota report. I am inclined to think it will take some time before we get to the next one.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair would like to say, before recognizing the motion to adjourn, in fairness to himself that, when the announcement of this banquet was made this afternoon, the Chair perhaps made it in a passing and light way. The Chair was not informed of the importance of the matter from the point of view of the organization which has arranged it, and having plans for raising a fund, part of which is for the expenses of the convention. The Chair didn't understand then that it was anything more than a question of being entertained.

COMRADE KARLIN: I move that we adjourn not later than 9.30 for the purpose of attending the affair announced by Comrade Stedman.

A COMRADE: I amend it to ten o'clock.

CHAIRMAN LEE: We have as many motions as Roberts allows. There is a motion, an amendment and an amendment to the amendment. That's all Roberts allows. It is moved that we now adjourn for the purpose of the delegates attending the function in the West End Auditorium. It is moved that we adjourn at 9.30 for that purpose: It is moved that we adjourn at ten o'clock for that purpose. I will put the last first.

COMRADE KRUSE: As a matter of information, we know how Jewish banquets are, but the tickets say that the banquet started at seven o'clock.

The motion to adjourn now and the amendment to adjourn at 9.30 were lost, and the amendment to the amendment to adjourn at ten o'clock was carried.

COMRADE WEISS: There are many opposed to adjourning at all. We want this thing thrashed out since we started it.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: May I rise to a question of personal privilege?

CHAIRMAN LEE: I hope you will not, unless you have to. State your question.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: The nature of the discussion of the following reports of the committee happen to be more or less the same kind as the one that has just preceded, and you are going to probably do the very same unwise thing of

discussing the major question as probably the minor question, and I, as a member of the National Executive Committee, have that privilege from the house. I think it is no more than proper, and, no matter how wrong you may think we were in our actions, that we are given the proper kind of chance to defend our actions, if our actions need defense, and be not permitted to be dragged in as a subsidiary proposition in the question of a report on certain contests. I would like to ask this house that they either don't discuss the other question at all in connection with these reports, or let this house sit as a committee of the whole and let charges be preferred against the National Executive Committee for the doings they have committed from the comrade of New Jersey or any other part of the country.

CHAIRMAN LEE: This is not properly a question of personal privilege, I am obliged to say. The committee will proceed.

COMRADE PANKEN: A contest was presented to the committee as regards Comrade Wm. Bross Lloyd, a member of the Illinois state delegation, accredited as such delegate to the convention. This contest is based on the charges enumerated:

1. That he participated in the so-called National Left Wing Conference, which was held in New York city, and

which conference adopted a motion instructing the delegates to this National convention to capture the Socialist Party, and in the event of a failure, to bolt it.

2. Because he participated in the formation of a rival political organization, which claimed for itself to represent the Socialist Party, and which hindered the regular party organization by interfering with the regular collection of party dues, convention funds, and other regular party activities.

3. Because he assisted in establishing dual convention headquarters.

The National Executive Committee made the contest, and through Comrade Germer presented the facts. Comrade Germer submitted to the committee two printed documents in support of the charges made by a verbal statement. Comrade Lloyd appeared before the committee and admitted that he did participate in the left wing conference, not denying the allegation of instructions given or alleged to have been given to the delegates to be elected by the National convention that they were to bolt in case they did not control, and also that he was active in the so-called "left wing National Executive Committee. The committee considered this case of Comrade Lloyd at great length, going over the documents, and it arrived at the conclusion that the conduct of Comrade Lloyd was such as to interfere with the

Socialist movement in the United States and to also interfere with the orderly process of the activities of the Socialist Party, and that he had taken part in the formation of this dual organization and that he had helped to build up another political organization, and that, as a whole, his conduct was violative of Socialist discipline. The committee, therefore recommends that he be not seated as a delegate to this convention.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The motion before the house is that the report of the committee be concurred in, and that Comrade Lloyd be not seated as a delegate in the convention.

COMRADE HOWE: I wish to make the statement that I made before the committee. Comrade Lloyd admitted that he had done all he was charged with. Now, Comrade Lloyd did that under the firm belief that he had been honestly elected a member of the National Executive Committee, and that on the 1st day of July he was entitled to take his seat. The National Executive Committee had prima facie evidence sufficient to satisfy themselves that there had been fraud committed. Comrade Lloyd was not satisfied that that was true. Comrade Lloyd would not accept an election secured by fraudulent means. So far as I am concerned, I think there was error made in acting as he did. It would have been far better to wait until the investigation had proved

whether there had been fraud or no fraud. I might say in speaking that the case of Comrade Katterfeld, of Kansas, and the case of Comrade Harwood, of New Jersey, were involved in practically the same way. They proceeded, as they believed, in a way that would protect their legal and moral rights in the Socialist Party. Now, they did form a left wing league in New York, and they have sent circulars, and literature and letters all over the country, and, when the call for nominations in Illinois was made, Comrade Lloyd was nominated. All that he had done was perfectly open to the public. It was an open book. He was nominated, and, in spite of or on account of his activities, as was known by every member of the Socialist Party that cast their ballot, he received an overwhelming vote. He is the choice of the state of Illinois as one of its delegates, and I, therefore, move that the report of the committee be not concurred in, and that Comrade Lloyd be given his seat. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN LEE: The Chair will have to state that the motion before the house is the report of the committee. The way to effect Comrade Howe's purpose is that we would have to vote against the motion before the house. I cannot accept an amendment which is the direct converse. If any one desires to vote as Comrade Howe has indicated, he should,

when the time comes, vote against the motion to not seat Comrade Lloyd.

COMRADE HOWE: I advise the members of the convention to vote "no" on the motion.

COMRADE PANKEN: Will Comrade Howe yield one question?

COMRADE HOWE: Yes.

COMRADE PANKEN: Are you aware of the fact, Comrade Howe, that Comrade Lloyd has become and is sitting as a member of the convention downstairs?

COMRADE HOWE: That is the first information that I now have of it.

COMRADE PANKEN: I am now informing you of that fact. Do you still maintain the action of this convention shall be as you advised?

COMRADE HOWE: I am ready to abide by the decision of this convention, yes or no.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: Mr. Chairman,--

COMRADE BIRCHER: A point of information.

CHAIRMAN LEE: There can be no such thing as a delegate saying that he rises for a point of information and getting the floor when another delegate has the floor. Delegate Beckerman has the floor.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I believe it is a physical law that two things cannot be in the same place at the same time, and I believe vice versa, that one thing cannot be in two

places at the same time. I have no doubt that Comrade Lloyd may be a man of great intellect and great personality, but he is not big enough to overcome the physical law that one person cannot be in two places at the same time. I don't know whether it is the desire of those who oppose the motion to put Comrade Lloyd in the perplexing situation of having to continually go upstairs and downstairs, and upstairs and downstairs, as it will interfere with his duties upstairs and his duties downstairs. I wasn't sure whether he was downstairs. I didn't know whether he was a communist, whether he was a left of the "left", a right of the "left" or the center of the "left." But, now that I am informed that he is downstairs, no doubt that those downstairs will keep him pretty busy. I cannot see the logic of any delegate opposing the motion, when the other delegate is somewhere else, at some convention of some other party. I say it is the only thing we can do, and I hope that there wont be very much discussion on so simple a matter as to supporting the committee.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I would like to ask as to what the doings of Comrade Lloyd since this morning or since the committee has got into session has to do with the things that transpired prior to the time the committee acted. No matter what he has done since that time has any bearing on what has happened prior.

COMRADE PAN'EN: One of the specifications in the charge is that Comrade Lloyd attended the National Left Wing Conference, which conference adopted a motion instructing the delegations to this convention of the Socialist Party to capture this convention or bolt. Before he came in, he bolted.

COMRADE BELOOF: I want to suggest or perhaps make a motion that, since the cases of Vatterfeld, Lloyd and Harwood are the same or that the charges are the same, we might consider them together.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I think we had better go ahead in the regular order of business. We will confuse things if we do that.

COMRADE BELOOF: I want to speak on this, and then I will not speak when the Vatterfeld case is called, because they are identical. Now, I know that Vatterfeld was elected, from Kansas, and fairly elected. I don't think that the comrades of Kansas showed very much good sense when they did it. (Laughter) I tell you what I think about the whole business. I think it is just like a great big revival of "holy rollers" sweeping over the whole country. I remember when I studied psychology, and I learned how those waves go. Our comrades of Kansas elected Vatterfeld, and they knew just exactly what he had been doing. Now, Comrade Vatterfeld is personally a pleasant gentleman. He thought he would do this thing

all inside of the Socialist Party. I don't know but what, if it wasn't for what appeared to be his child-like innocence--although he is an older Socialist than I--he wouldn't wait up by being the cat's paw that he is today. Comrade Katterfeld didn't expect to be left up in the air between the deep sea and the Socialist Party. Laughter.) My point is this: that Comrade Katterfeld has worked inside of the party all the time. He is a member in good standing of the little short-grass local down in Kansas. He was elected by the highest vote of any of us. Now, in justice to those comrades who elected him, I want to see him get his seat. I think I can tell just about exactly how long it will take this thing to wear out, but it's got to take its course. There is no breaking the fever until the 21st day. (Laughter) When some of you fellows from the East, who perhaps can get upon the street corners in Chicago, I don't know what you can hear here, but I know what you can say, and I know better what you can say in the one-street town in Kansas, and I know when you come out there to talk about dictatorship of the proletariat and mass action and communism, you are going to think you are among the Menonites, or something or another that we have out there. You can't do it there. I know that, of course. The comrades there elected him honestly. There was no fraud, and he didn't allow the suspended foreign language federations to vote. Katterfeld is

entitled to his seat here. Now, if he don't want it, that's his business, and I think it will be some business of the level-headed fellows back in Kansas, when they find out after they elected him to this convention that he didn't choose to represent them, and that the other fellow who was elected to a seat without a contest neither chose to take a seat.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I want to follow Comrade Beloof. I know her. I used to study Marx, and Comrade Beloof is a woman I like to study. For years and years Comrade Beloof was an example of what we have been up against. She worked to build up that state movement. During the war she was one of those that was called on from every part of the state in the time of distress and trouble, and our friend Katterfeld and his crowd, with an announced program of merciless and pitiless publicity and criticism, have gone up and down the line, as I happen to know, to that extent, with their stories that Comrade Beloof barely came under the wire, and said all sorts of things about her. This man that she talks about is the man that went all over the state of Kansas peddling stories. And, there's other cases like this. I am not a delegate. I don't propose to sit. I have to handle the figures and the ballots.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I will have to make a ruling. And, first,

I want to make a statement. There are times when the present chairman forgets parliamentary law. He did it when Comrad Beloof spoke of the case of Vatterfeld, when the case of Comrade Lloyd was before the house. He did it deliberately at that time. He is not going to do it any more. We will now return to the case of Comrade Lloyd. Please confine yourself to that.

COMRADE CORBEL: I have no vote. I have a voice. What I represent is the announced position of the State Executive Committee in New Jersey. What I represent is the state, even though I am not a delegate. What happens? Vatterfeld and Wagenknecht---

CHAIRMAN LEE: I will have to ask that you don't discuss the Vatterfeld case at this time. The case of Comrade Lloyd is before the house.

COMRADE CORBEL: All right, Mr. Chairman. I will meet you half way. I won't discuss any individual, because it happens that, although I disagree with him, Comrade Lloyd is a man I have a personal liking for. It is not a matter of individuals but a matter of principle. We have a regular party organization. You have discipline or you have the opposite. We had a convention to hold, when we knew you didn't have the money and times were not ripe. But, we finally ordered it. It cost \$19000.00 to carry it on. Lloyd is involved in it in this way: They got together and they established headquarters in Cleveland. If

Lloyd can do it, and the others can do it, you can do it, and everybody will do it, and we will have no convention. They got the comrades so confused that they sent money neither to Panken nor to us. They are going to send it to us after this convention is over. Can any member of the Socialist Party, who thinks that he is elected, get together and organize an executive committee and open up headquarters, if he has got money enough and burden and confuse the poor membership until they don't know where they are at? That is the issue. If you believe it is bad tactics, that it is poor discipline and it is the anarchist way of doing business and not the Socialist way, then vote to sustain the committee.

COMRAD. NOONAN: I just want to ask a question. Doesn't the position of Comrade Lloyd in participating in an opposite political party make him constitutionally a non-member of the Socialist Party?

CHAIRMAN LEE: The delegates will answer that in their own way.

COMRADE PANKEN: The application to party membership has this clause: "In all political actions while a member of the Socialist Party, I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of that party."

A COMRADE: Read the preceding section.

COMRADE PANKEN: Then, there is another portion of the constitution which reads: "No state or local organization

shall under any circumstances use, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization." Surely, if the locals can't do it, an individual can't do it either.

COMRADE WILSON: A point of information. I would like to ask Comrade Panken who stated that they organized another political party down stairs? If that is true that Lloyd is party to another political party, we don't want him seated in this convention. But, I would like to know where Comrade Panken gets that information, and if he really knows.

COMRADE PANYEN: I just got that from one comrade, who represents a newspaper here, Comrade Eugene Wood, who represents the Call and a delegate to this convention, was downstairs and saw it.

A COMRADE: I just now saw him downstairs in the convention, sitting in the front rank.

A COMRADE: Doesn't that indicate membership?

COMRADE WILSON: The information I asked for, I haven't got.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I am sorry.

COMRADE WILSON: I want to know whether they have actually organized another political party.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Suppose you go down and find out.

COMRADE WILSON: I couldn't get in. (Laughter.)

COMRADE SEHL: I move the previous question.

Motion for the previous question seconded, and carried.

COMRADE KRUSE: A question of privilege. I desire that the Illinois delegation, or what's left of it, will vote a certain way on this question. I would like to state for the Illinois delegates or a considerable part of them why that vote is going to be cast in that particular way.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I will let you get away with it, but I think that is not proper.

COMRADE KRUSE: The Illinois delegates are depending upon the correctness of the information that another political party has actually been formed downstairs. On that ground, therefore, they will vote against the seating of Comrade Lloyd in this convention. (Applause and laughter.)

COMRADE STEDMAN: It is half past nine. Let's adjourn.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The previous question has been voted.

COMRADE PANZEN: The committee desires to make no further statement, in view of what the delegate from Illinois has said.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The recommendation is that Comrade Wm. Bross Lloyd be not seated as a delegate.

The recommendation of the committee to not seat Comrade Lloyd was carried.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I wish to be recorded as voting "no."

COMRADE WEISS: So do I.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Any delegate who wishes to go on record can do so by sending a note to the secretary. The Chair cannot give time for that.

Comrade Cohen, of Washington, D.C., noticed the secretary that she wished to be recorded as voting "no."

COMRADE TENNYSON: I wish Arkansas to be recorded as voting "no" for the following reason: the "left wing" organization has been declared to have been a transaction party and not a political party, and now we find it to be a political party.

COMRADE PANZEN: There was a contest on one of the delegates from the state of New Jersey, against Comrade Fred Harwood. The charges as specified are that Comrade Harwood participated in the activities of the so-called "left wing" National Executive Committee, interfering with the collection of dues of the Socialist Party, convention funds and other party activities. Comrade Harwood appeared before the committee, as well as Comrade Germer, for the National Executive Committee which is making the contest.. Harwood admitted the charge made against him by the National Executive Committee. The committee considered the case, going over quite some documents and it arrived at the conclusion that the conduct of Comrade Harwood was such as to interfere with the Socialist Party movement in the United States and to interfere with the orderly process of the activities of the Socialist

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Party and that his conduct was violative of revolutionary discipline. The committee, therefore, recommends that he not be seated. May I add that, in addition thereto, there was one document which was submitted to us, and, if the convention desires a reading of that, I shall be glad to do it.

(Cries of "Read it.")

COMRADE BUTCHER: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I think the convention is willing to listen to this document. Bear in mind that I will recognize Comrade Fircher, and then Comrade Perenberg, who rose simultaneously.

COMRADE PANKEN: It is to the state secretary. It is on the heading of the Ohio Socialist Official Organ Weekly, a one dollar a year Socialist paper of Ohio. It is as follows:

COMRADE BIRCHER: For some time past we in New Jersey were wondering where we were going to get off. We were not "lefts"; we were not "rights." We wanted to maintain the Socialist Party. For that purpose, we wanted to have a convention. We wanted to know as to where we were going to get off with the constituents. The call came for the convention and to elect delegates to that convention. At the time the call came, everything that had been suggested by the National office had been taken care of in the proper way. There is nothing that can be shown to the contrary. There was something in the letter that was just read by Comrade Panken about funds, National assessment stamps, etc. I want to state right here that every delegate from New Jersey had been sent a check for the sum of \$85.00 to pay the expenses, signed by the treasurer of the state of New Jersey. As far as Comrade Harwood is concerned, he has attended to his financial matters properly. As far as Comrade Goebel's statement is concerned---

COMRADE GOEBEL: You stopped me, and I will stop Comrade Birchler.

COMRADE BIRCHER: There has been no fraud of any kind found in the election methods of New Jersey. I am very much surprised that Comrade Goebel would try to intimate that we are trying to resort to corrupt methods. I want to say further---

COMRADE GOEBEL: The delegates that are elected are not here.

COMRADE BIRCHER: No. There are some of them here.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Goebel, will you please maintain order.

COMRADE BIRCHER: At the time of the call, you will notice that the National secretary had stated that a delegate must be a resident member of the party for three years. But, by the action of our good Comrade Goebel, a member of the National Executive Committee, it was made to be understood that you must have resided in the state for three years, and been a member of the party for three years. Now, Comrade Harwood is not a fool.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I rise to a point of order.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Not at this time.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I will rise to a question of personal privilege when he has finished. You can have your choice.

CHAIRMAN LEE: You be quiet while he is speaking.

COMRADE BLOOM: I rise to a point of order.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Comrade Birchler is in order.

COMRADE BIRCHER: To the best of our knowledge, we had to abide by the rules as laid down by the National office. The National Executive Committee had decided that it shall be called according to constitutional requirements. The State Executive Committee of New Jersey decided, however,

that there may be somebody among the delegates nominated who is not just exactly to their liking, and they decided that you must reside in the state three years. There was somebody of that nature, Fred Harwood. He was not a resident of the state for the full three years. He was not even any more than two years; just a little bit more than two years. The State Executive Committee decided that you must reside in the state, and Fred Harwood said, "I am going to find out whether that is so or not."

He telegraphs to National Secretary Germer, and received from him a reply that all you have got to do is to be a member of the Party for three years, and it makes no difference how long you have resided in the state, as long as you resided there at the time you were nominated and elected.

COMRADE GERMER: Will you read the telegram I sent?

COMRADE BIRCHER: I haven't it. I read it at that time. At that time he done further than that. He called up in my presence National Committeeman Oneal. At that time National Committeeman Oneal was rather in doubt about whether it should be done or not.

COMRADE ONEAL: You are mistaken.

COMRADE BIRCHER: National Committeeman Krafft, he stated that it was so, that he must be a resident of the state for three years. It just so happens that a kick was raised in

the state after that, and that at a subsequent meeting it was decided you didn't have to be a resident of the state three years, but two years will do. All of the charges brought against Comrade Harwood and the entire contest is based upon nothing but personalities. Harwood hadn't attended the "left wing" or any "left wing." But, the new National Executive Committee, duly elected by the membership of the Party. He attended that meeting because he was elected and he believed that he was elected. He has attended that, and he has done more than that. He had assisted in making sure that this convention was going to be held. There was all kinds of rumors spread, and the statement was made by Goebel at the last committee meeting that it is possible that this convention would not be held, in spite of the fact that a call had been sent out, because there were no finances. Now, it was perfectly in order for Comrade Harwood and the other members of the National Executive Committee, elected properly by the members, to see that the convention was held, and, if this is going to put him out of the party, if you are going to ride him out of the party on account of those acts, all right.

COMRADE BERENBERG: A few moments ago I was down stairs and I met Comrade Harwood in the hall. Knowing that his seat

was contested, I asked him, "Well, now, how about it? Where do you stand now?" His answer was, "I am through." Now, I wanted to know what he meant. I said, "Do you belong to the new party? Do you belong to the communist party? Just what do you mean?" And, he said, "I am through."

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I rise to a point of order. All acts that Comrade Harwood might have committed after the charge was made against him are not subject for discussion here.

CHAIRMAN LEE: You are out of order.

COMRADE BERENBERG: The reason I bring up this incident is to bring out the state of mind. I know, and others know, what Comrade Harwood's state of mind has been for some time. A number of comrades, including Comrade Harwood, have come in with a chip on their shoulders, and they challenge us to throw off this chip on their shoulder. If we did, then they would bolt the convention and tear up their cards or do something equally desperate. Now, as for Comrade Bircher's charge that Comrade Harwood was, or rather his assertion that Comrade Harwood was the duly elected delegate from New Jersey, and that we had no right to go back, let me remind Comrade Bircher and others of this, that of the four men on the announced list of the New Jersey delegation was a man named Brand. In the New Jersey organization, the charge was brought up that, as soon as Comrade Brand had announced that

if elected he would go to the communist party in Chicago, therefore Comrade Brand should be taken off the ticket. That was done after the election had been announced. Now, what is sauce for Brand is sauce for Harwood. Comrade Harwood attended meetings of the so-called new executive committee. He, together with several others, intended to usurp the powers of the old executive committee of the Party. As such, Harwood is guilty of a very serious breach of party discipline and as such, and because of the subsequent actions of his, I suggest that we concur in the finding of the committee.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I believe, from things that I know, as a member of the state committee of New Jersey, a member of the State Executive Committee of New Jersey, I believe that this convention can do nothing else but concur in the report of the committee. Comrade Harwood has not been carrying on the work of the organization in the state of New Jersey as he should carry it out in the position that he was in. The state committee instructed the state secretary, who is Comrade Harwood, within that following week to call the meeting of the State Executive Committee and turn all moneys that he might have received in assessment stamps for this convention over to the treasurer. The information I have is that Comrade Harwood did not abide by that decis-

ion. The 12th Ward Branch, Jersey City, voted its allotment for the three books of assessment stamps out of their treasury. This money or the check for that money was sent to Comrade Harwood. It was sent to him on the 5th of August. The state committee meeting took place that following Sunday. I asked Comrade Harwood whether he received thirty dollars from the 12th Ward Branch of Jersey City. He said no. Up to the 15th of August I had telephoned to Comrade Harwood and asked him whether he received that check, and he said no. I have a statement here from the treasurer of the 12th Ward Branch to this extent, that the branch ordered pay assessment stamps for the National convention on Monday, August 4th, check made out on Tuesday the 5th, and mailed Wednesday morning. Comrade Harwood deposited the check in the Union National Bank of Newark on August 7th. This is the point that I am driving at: with the suggestion that Comrade Harwood made in the so-styled new N.E.C., he was in an under-handed way carrying out the mandates that were carried in that session of the so-styled new N.E.C. If Comrade Harwood, as I argued in New Jersey, was satisfied that he was duly elected as a new member of the N.E.C., he should have waited until this convention took action on the matter. As I understand, Comrade Harwood has been doing his level best with the opposition forces in the organization. He is

attending the meeting downstairs. I say this much: that Comrade Harwood has not been like some other comrades who differ with us. He has not been in this respect the comrade that will come to you and tell you where he stands, and how he is going to carry it out. (Applause) He has not done that. I say to you that, if I intend to do certain things, I am going to tell the comrades that I intend to do it, and not tell them that I am not going to do it, and, when their backs are turned, do the identical same thing. The question of voting for the three-year clause, I agree that that came up in the state committee, and in the State Executive Committee. And, we all held that the interpretation of the national constitution was three years' membership in the national organization, but we changed it on a vote through the mail to carry for two years, for this reason: the charges were made that we were trying to do everything to prevent the convention, to prevent sending delegates, and, in order to bring about a situation where delegates would be duly nominated and elected by a referendum and not by a committee, as was done in other states, we agreed to the two year clause. (Applause)

COMRADE GERBER: I just want to call the attention of the delegates here to the methods of the so-called new National Executive Committee. I have it right here in the front sheet,

by Alfred Wagenknecht. This meeting was held on July 26th. This convention was to meet on August 30th, just about a month after this meeting was held. At that meeting of the N.E.C., here's the minutes, which read as follows:

"Motion by Comrade Harwood that this committee suggest that the state secretaries refrain from purchasing any more due stamps from the former National secretary, but, in case due stamps are needed, that such regular party due stamps be bought from the temporary National secretary. Motion was carried."

I want to say that some of you, who are professionals, ^{not} some of you who may have been in the labor movement, may not perhaps understand it and feel it as we do, who have been in it. I know in my own trade, during the lock-out in the city of New York, when the International president came into our city, and while the bosses locked us out and fought us, he organized a crowd of scabs as a beneficiary organization against all organization members of the National. We went to that next National convention of our union, and we kicked that International secretary and his whole executive committee out of office. At this time, I might as well say it now as at any other time, that the Socialist Party is fighting for its existence, when every reactionary in the country, from the gold men in Washington down to the cheapest politicians, be it in Chicago, New York or anywhere else, has got

its hand out against the Socialist Party, and any crowd of people that dares organize another organization to fight the Socialist Party is doing the same act that the scab does that goes in in the time of strike. (Applause) I am perfectly willing to seat any delegation here, to seat any comrade here, no matter what his or her tendencies are. I am not interested in tendencies. They have a right--I proclaim for myself, as a member of the Socialist Party, to differ with every member of the Socialist Party, and to express my opinion, but I am willing and gladly willing to give the same privilege to every other member of the Socialist Party, but when I see others trying to get hundreds of others to break the Socialist Party up, then my place is not in the Socialist Party; my place is outside. I am surprised that any man will come here and seat any one among us who has done his level best for the last month to break the Socialist Party. Whether Comrade Harwood or anybody else honestly believed they were elected on the N.E.C., they should have waited one month. Just the same thing as our president of the International union. He could not wait for one month to see whether Local No. 10 was right. But, he came in our city and organized scabs in the organization. Comrade Lloyd has done the same thing. Comrade Harwood has done the same thing. The whole bunch are trying to break the Socialist Party. I

don't want to charge that they have been paid for doing it, but, by God, comrades, if they were paid, they couldn't have done a better job.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I rise to call for the previous question.

A COMRADE: I second it.

On a viva voce, the Chairman declared the motion carried. There were cries for a division, and the vote was 50 to and 37 against the motion for the previous question.

A COMRADE: Must not a motion for the previous question be carried by a two-thirds vote?

CHAIRMAN LEE: According to our practice, it is carried by a majority vote.

COMRADE QUINLAN: May I have the floor?

On motion duly carried, Comrade Quinlan was given the floor.

COMRADE QUINLAN: Comrade Harwood was elected as a delegate from the state of New Jersey. You can see there is no question of partisanship on my part. Harwood didn't pay me. On the matter of Harwood and his finances and book-keeping, I don't know; but, there is no partisanship involved. There is a question of the New Jersey party organization there, and especially Essex county, where he was from. He was elected by the highest vote in the state. Comrade Brand was the highest, but he refused to come in.

He made a motion saying, "We will go to the communist convention." Comrade Harwood would not report it. I told him I would go to the state committee and see that we would have no more to do with Brand. He was elected, and he came here. What his conduct was at the National committee meeting, whether it was legal or illegal, I don't know. I have known Harwood for 20 years, and everybody who spoke against him have known him no longer than I. I have never known him to do anything wrong against the labor movement. He probably did fly off the handle, but the fact that he did, like other fellows who get excited, is no reason why you should sit here and disfranchise the whole state of New Jersey because he did one or two things that may not be altogether ethical. The point is, he was elected. It was the business of Comrade Germer, as National secretary, or the other men, to bring the matter before Comrade Harwood's own local, bring up the charges and fight it out there, and not disfranchise him here and not disfranchise New Jersey. We have no "left wing" in New Jersey. The few "left wingers" we had got out, and good luck to them.

COMRADE PANKEN: I overlooked, in making the report of the committee, one specification. There was a motion by Comrade Harwood at the meeting of the new-styled or so-styled new National Executive Committee that "we call upon the membership to make generous purchases of special assessment National convention stamps and that local and branch secre-

taries send the money from the sale of these stamps to their respective state secretaries at once, that all state secretaries be requested to retain such money in their state treasury, the same to be brought to the National convention by the state delegates." That is correct. Harwood admitted that. In addition to that, Harwood agreed that the new national headquarters be set up in Cleveland, O. In addition to that, Comrade Harwood agreed with the so-styled new National Executive Committee that convention headquarters be established in Chicago. Now, what does that mean, comrades? Let's analyze it just for a moment, Comrade Quinlan. Does that mean staying in the Socialist party? If it means staying in the Socialist Party, why new headquarters organized in Cleveland? If it means staying in the Socialist Party, if it is desirous to do so, why establish new convention headquarters in Chicago? Comrade Gerber referred to us the trouble of the tin metal workers International Union. Let me direct your attention, Comrade Quinlan and the other comrades who know what the situation was in the garment workers trade, that for more than 20 months the garment workers paid their dues and they stayed in the United Garment Workers Union until the convention at Nashville, Tenn., and the delegates went down to Nashville, Tenn., and they were not seated. In that case, there was two

organizations, and the result was that the United Garment Workers disappeared and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers took its place, and the entire clothing industry is now under the control of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. What did the boys do in the garment trade? They stuck to the organization. They stayed within the organization. They agitated the members. They led the members. They influenced the members. It is quite possible that this convention may follow one policy or another policy. It is possible this convention may go to the extreme left, in the course of its deliberations. I don't know just what the situation will be in the end. Most of us comrades who come from all over the country--most of us--and I think I can positively say all of us who come from all over the country, have the Socialist movement at heart. We realize or know that the situation has changed; that new conditions have been created in the world, and the same conditions have also been created in the United States, and it is necessary for a re-statement of the Socialist position to guide us in our work in the United States on behalf of the Socialist Party. But, these comrades didn't want to stay in the Party. These comrades were bent upon destroying the Party. And, by God, they almost wrecked the Party. They almost destroyed the Party. But, our comrades are ready now, there are

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comrades who are willing to stand by the Party, and, if necessary, give all they have so that the Socialist movement lives and functions in the United States. (Applause)

COMRADE BIRCHER: May I have the floor?

CHAIRMAN LEE: I don't think any further questions or remarks are in order at this time. The previous question was voted by the house.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I appeal to the house that I have a minute on this.

(Cries of "yes.")

On motion, duly seconded, Comrade Bircher was given the floor at this time.

COMRADE BIRCHER: It is not a question of what Comrade Harwood has done. If he has done wrong, put him on trial, and put him out of the Party. (Cries of "He is out.") I want to be in the Socialist Party, and so do many more of us. But, if you are not going to give us an opportunity to stand by, if you are not going to let us go with you, if you are not going to give us an opportunity to work and stay within the Socialist Party, we are going to be out-casts. We are not wanted downstairs. We are not wanted up here. Comrade Harwood is the duly elected delegate to this convention, and he should be seated, and, if there is anything against him, put him on trial and expel him from the Party.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The vote recurs upon the motion to sustain the committee.

COMRADE JONES: May I have the floor?

CHAIRMAN LEE: No.

COMRADE MOORE: I rise to a point of order. In the first place, we voted the previous question. We could not do anything except to reconsider the previous question.

CHAIRMAN LEE: That's right. It is obvious that the house wants to vote. The question records upon the motion to sustain the report of the committee that Comrade Fred Harwood be not seated as a delegate.

On a viva voce vote, the report of the committee was sustained.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The hour of ten o'clock having passed, the convention will now stand adjourned until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

THIRD DAY.

Monday, September 1st, 1919.

10.00 o'clock, A.M.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Lee.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The first order of business is the reading of the minutes, if it is your desire that the minutes shall be read.

On motion, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I will take the liberty of presenting a telegram to the convention from Raipad Rai, one of the leading representatives in America of the movement in India. (Reads) The question is whether we should wire Raipad Rai that we will be in a position to give him the floor at some time tomorrow.

COMRADE PANZEN: I move that an invitation be sent to Raipad Rai to address this convention on the Indian situation for half an hour.

Seconded.

COMRADE GERMER: I would like to ask whether this party is associated with Dr. Hedvale.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The nature of the Indian movement is of such a nature that I think it would be pretty hard to answer how close that association is.

COMRADE GERMER: The reason I asked the question is that we had a communication from the Indian Home Rule League asking that the convention give the floor to Dr. Hedvale. I brought this before the National Executive Committee, and was instructed to wire him that we would hear him either today or tomorrow. I complied with those instructions, and wired to New York, saying that we would hear him today or tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN LEE: Have you had an answer to your wire?

COMRADE GERMER: No.

COMRADE TRACTENBERG: I don't think we should give recognition to any particular group. I don't know that the convention should extend an invitation for him to come here. If any committee asked him to come before the committee or convention, he should speak as an individual and not as being invited.

CHAIRMAN LEE: We are not moving to invite him. We are answering a telegram. Whether this telegram is an answer to the invitation that has been extended to Dr. Hedvale, or whether it is in the nature of a request from Raimond Rai, we are not in a position to say. We have already extended the invitation. The question is as to the time.

COMRADE CHASE: I don't think it is necessary to notify them.

COMRADE NAGET: I would like to hear from the New York delegation.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I think I can answer. I know Mr. Rainad Rai pretty well. I have heard him speak and lecture a number of times, and the impression that I have got is that he is decidedly opposed to the continuation of British rule in India. He is an Indian National. The Indian movement is not in a position, owing to the conditions in Europe and the United States, where there is a definitely organized, strong Socialist Party.

COMRADE HOAN: I move that we lay the invitation on the table. We have a lot of work to do, and maybe there is a lot of other home rulers who want to talk.

CHAIRMAN LEE: This is not an invitation. It is either a response to a request from him, or else it is an answer to an invitation already given by the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE HOAN: I move that we answer that the convention is so busily engaged that we regret our inability to hear him at this time.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: That case is somewhat different than the average game rule proposition. Our Government, being interested in democracy, is doing all it can to send back Indians who are coming here and preventing them from making any effort at all in India. This nation has deported

as many as it can. So, it is a deportation problem on which this convention should express itself.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I hope that the convention will not refuse Raipad Rai an opportunity to speak for a few minutes before the convention and lay before us the facts in regard to India, regarding a question in which we, in the United States, are involved, just because of these facts to which Comrade Stedman referred.

COMRADE WEISS: I move that we invite him to speak in this house on Tuesday for half an hour.

CHAIRMAN LEE: That is already before the house.

Motion was duly carried.

CHAIRMAN LEE: The secretary has some telegrams.

SECRETARY GERBER: I have the following telegrams:

Anderson, Ind., Aug. 31, 1919

Adolph Germer
220 S. Ashland Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

We demand that all duly elected delegates be seated.

Indians Y.P.S.L. State Convention
V. T. Ballinger, Chairman

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 31, 1919

Socialist Party
Chicago, Ill.

Jewish Branch Atlanta Local extends hearty greetings to convention and expresses earnest hopes that a

fraternal spirit will be preserved thruout to the end
that the Socialist Party may continue to present a solid
front to the common enemy..

Chas. Weintraub, Sec'y.

Lynn, Mass. Aug. 31, 1919

Socialist Party Convention
Chicago, Ill.

Best wishes for a successful convention. Let
your labors resolve in unity and understanding on issues
involved in winning the world for the worker.

Lynn Jewish Socialist Branch.

CHAIRMAN LEE: I have a notice from the chairman of the
Illinois delegation that, "Wm. Bross Lloyd having been re-
fused a seat in this convention, Barney Berlyn is hereby
presented as an alternate for Illinois," signed "Oliver
C. Wilson, State Secy." If there is no objection, he will
be seated, and is so ordered.

I have another, as follows, from Comrade Wilson: "In the
absence of Comrade Andrew Lafin, one of the Illinois dele-
gation, Henry Askeli, one of the regularly elected
alternates, is hereby presented." If there is no object-
ion, he will be seated as an alternate in the place of
Comrade Andrew Lafin.

COMRADE PANKEN: Before I take up the balance of the report of the contest committee, I want to say something. I am informed, and reliably so, that the Oregon delegation seated yesterday by this convention has availed itself of a seat in the convention to the extent of one delegate. We seated four. This morning I saw the delegation or one of the delegates from Nebraska, and informed him that he had been seated yesterday, and asked him why he didn't come into the convention. He just smiled blandly. There was a contest on the seat of one of the delegates from the state of Kansas, Comrade D.E. Katterfeld. The contest was made on the following grounds: because Comrade Katterfeld helped to establish a dual National headquarters in the city of Cleveland, and also helped to establish a dual convention headquarters in Chicago, and particularly because of the fact that Comrade Katterfeld helped to establish a dual National Executive Committee, and was present, and participated and voted in favor of the following proposition, which was then afterwards carried out: that a call be made upon the membership to make generous purchases of the special assessment National convention stamps, and that local and branch secretaries send the money from the sale of these stamps to their respective state secretaries at once, but all state secretaries be requested to retain such money on their state treasury the same to be brought

to the National convention by the state delegation.

Second. That this committee suggests that the state secretaries refrain from purchasing any more due stamps from the former National secretary, that is, the functioning National secretary, but, in case due stamps are needed, that such regular Party due stamps be bought from the temporary National secretary; and because of the fact that Comrade Katterfeld violated the constitutional provisions, in that he has allied himself with another political organization, which is contrary to the application made by him at the time he became a member of the Socialist Party.

The committee has heard Comrade Katterfeld. Comrade Katterfeld, before the committee, stated that he did participate in the establishment of this so-called National Executive Committee, that he did vote for the proposition that I have just referred to, and particularly that he signed the letter which I have read to you last night in the case of Comrade Lloyd, which was signed by him, together with Comrade Wagenknecht, which letter calls upon the various state secretaries not to forward any of the funds created by the sale of convention due stamps or convention assessment stamps to the National office. The committee considered the case, and it arrived at the conclusion that the conduct of Comrade Katterfeld was such as to inter-

ferre with the Socialist movement in the United States to the limit that such activity can interfere, and also that it actually did interfere with the orderly process of the activities of the Socialist Party, and, in some instances, or in a great many instances, the funds which were to go to the National office for the expense of this convention were diverted. And, we, therefore, hold that his conduct throughout the last two months is violative of party discipline, and we, therefore, recommend that he be not seated as a delegate. If there are no remarks---

COMRADE QUINLAN: Have all the charges against Comrade Vatterfeld occurred since he was elected, and, has his own state organization taken any action to repudiate him or censure him in any way?

COMRADE PANKEN: We did not go into that matter at all as to whether his activities were prior to or after his election as a delegate to the National convention. We did not inquire as to whether the state organization actually knew of his activities or not. The committee was of the opinion, and we discussed that proposition at length, that it didn't make any difference at all as to whether the state organization knew of his activities or didn't know of his activities. If he did these things before he was elected or after he was elected, or in the interim, if he affiliated, for instance, with the Democratic organization or Republican

organization, or by his conduct wrote himself out of the Socialist Party, he is not entitled to a seat in this convention, regardless of what the state organization knew or didn't know. (Applause)

COMRADE KRUSE: In view of the circumstances of the Katterfeld case, if it was a personal contest aside from the principle involved, and particularly in view of the action that this delegate has taken yesterday, I should certainly not want to seat him here. But, I must protest against the grounds on which the committee has unseated all of the three delegations involved in simultaneous cases. I know that the protest won't do any good. I know that the committee's report will be accepted, and I know, for that matter, if the committee's report were not accepted and they were seated, they would not take their seats anyway. Nevertheless, I must maintain that a seat in this convention is the property of the membership in every organized state in the Socialist Party. It is not the property of any delegate, and it is not the property of all the seated delegates in this convention. You have no right to take away the representation of any state here. Now, it is undeniable that Kansas knew just exactly where Katterfeld stood. It is undeniable also that the regular rank and file membership knew, and that they gave him the highest vote in the state. But, whatever objection there may be to

him personally, you cannot vacate his seat on the ground that the committee has given here. The seat belongs to the organization.

COMRADE PANZEN: Will you yield to just one question?

COMRADE KRUSE: Yes.

COMRADE PANZEN: Assume that Comrade Katterfeld in the interim affiliated with some bourgeois political organization, do you still hold that he would be entitled to sit in this convention, because he was elected?

COMRADE KRUSE: The illustration given is so different from the case at hand.

COMRADE PANZEN: I simply ask you that question.

COMRADE KRUSE: It would not hold in this case.

COMRADE NAGEL: I wish to state, in behalf of the committee, and especially in behalf of myself; that in the case of Katterfeld and Lloyd, and in fact, all of the delegates to this convention that were contested and that came before that committee, they were not unseated, so far as I am concerned,--and I think this is true also of the rest of the committee--because they were so-called "left wing-ers."

COMRADE PANZEN: Of course, not.

COMRADE NAGEL: Or, because of the matter that they organized a new party. That was not considered. This is the reason Katterfeld was unseated, or it was recommended that he

unseated by that committee, and the same as to Lloyd, and in fact all of them: We have in the United States a duly authorized, active, functioning Socialist Party. That's true. Comrade Germer is the duly elected and functioning executive secretary of the Socialist Party. He has never been unseated nor any effort made to unseat him. An election was called to elect a new National Executive Committee, and the results of that election came before Comrade Germer. Comrade Germer said, whether rightly or wrongfully, I am not discussing at this time, "There is prima facie evidence before me that frauds were committed in this election," and he was representing, not Zatterfeld nor Lloyd when he said that, but the Socialist Party of the United States, and, when he said that, we must stand by him until a convention of this Party convenes and overrides that order made by him. And, when he said that there is prima facie evidence that frauds were committed, he called this convention in order that the entire matter might be thrashed out, and, pending the call of that convention, this man Zatterfeld and this man Lloyd and the rest of this group of so-called "left wingers" organized among themselves and sent out literature telling the membership not to send any money to Germer in order that we could hold the convention and go into this matter. Can these men deny that? I want that plain before this con-

vention, that these are the very men that took it upon themselves to make it impossible for us to come from the Pacific to the Atlantic to hear this matter. They didn't want it heard. They did everything within their power to prevent the financing of this convention. That is the reason they are shut out, that they have no business in this convention; not because they are "left wingers", but because they didn't want the matter of that election gone into. And, so far as I know, from the evidence that came before that committee, they are not Socialists. They are anarchists, and the sooner they go and remain away from us, the better it will be for the Socialist Party.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN LEE: At this point, under the rule, we should proceed to the election of a chairman and vice-chairman for the day. The duly elected chairman having taken the chair, the business will proceed.

The following were nominated to serve as chairman for the day:

Comrades Henry, Hoan, Stedman, Roewer and Wilson, of Illinois.

On motion, the nominations were closed.

Comrades Henry, Roewer and Stedman decline. The result of the ballot showed as follows for the remaining candidates: Comrade Hoan, 50; Comrade Wilson, 40.

The nomination of a vice-chairman being in order, the

following were nominated:

Comrades Wilson, of Illinois, Quinlan, Kruse, Bircher and Roewer.

On motion, the nominations were closed.

Comrades Quinlan, Kruse, Bircher and Roewer declined.

Comrade Wilson was unanimously elected.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: We have under consideration the report of the committee concerning Comrade Katterfeld.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I am going to ask just a little latitude. I want to, in discussing the Katterfeld case, cover the other cases somewhat. There are three cases precisely alike. I hope that all the comrades will wait a couple of minutes until they can get the drift of what I am saying. This is a serious matter. I am not speaking for any crowd. My only purpose has been to leave this convention a united party. I know you want a united party. And, I am willing to pay any price for a real united party.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I request the speakers to speak on the question before us, so that we can expedite business today.

COMRADE GOEBEL: If you let me speak five minutes, I will save you a five hour fight. It will come up in some form. I haven't changed my mind concerning the actions of the comrades who set up a rival National headquarters at Cleveland. There is no question but what they should be pun-

ished. But, comrades, here is the point at issue: One of these cases is in my own state. The delegates who are here, every one of them I know; they are with us; they have fought the communists; they have stood for the party under all circumstances; they feel they are wronged, but they feel, nevertheless, that this is a personal case, personal animosity. They say that New Jersey, take for example, should deal with their man. They claim it is the right of the states to punish people that violate the party's laws. We don't have to concede in any way that they are right; we don't have to back down from our contention that they are wrong. But, what I want to propose is this, and this is what it means: I don't care for Comrade Harwood. I honestly believe that he was working with these people to discourage the movement. I have certain things that force me to that conclusion, but people like Jones and Bircher and Weiss and Bausch, that I have known for years, who never lied to me, they are insisting that he is downstairs, doing all he can to hold the comrades in line. We can't except one without excepting others, because all three cases hang alike. I will ask the comrades if we can't do this, if we can't find some way of reconsidering the two other cases, and bunching them with Katterfeld's case, and then take the chances on what

happens, and, if you must insist upon punishing somebody, express ourselves as against their action as anarchistic and opposed to the discipline of the party, but, at the same time seat all three here. In my opinion, two of them will not come back, but I will take chances on the two. I will take chances on one. I am satisfied that, if you do that, it will mean that the bulk of the party in New Jersey will be with the Socialist Party. (Applause)

COMRADE TENNYSON: I want, for the purpose of placing the men of the convention right, to reply to Comrade Goebel. He made the remark here a while ago that this was a duly organized body of Socialists, of which we all agree. He made the remark that Comrade Germer was the duly elected secretary and duly authorized acting secretary at this time, and that it had never been questioned or any attempt to unseat him had been made. Let me state to the men of the convention right on this matter that Local, Beebe, on the 8th day of June, 1919, forwarded into the National office here a resolution demanding the recall of the National Executive, National secretary Germer. On the 20th day of June, twelve days later, we received a reply from Germer that this resolution was invalid. We immediately called a meeting of our organization again, and we

forwarded it back again to him, in an envelope with the return card of W. G. Hopkins, Beebe, Ark., in the left hand corner. From that time it rocked on until some time about ten days ago, in the neighborhood of the 20th of August, and it never appeared in the National Bulletin. I have his reply with me at the hotel, as to why that has never been published. The reply was that he never knew anything about it, and that if it ever come there he had never seen it.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: What is the business before the house?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Whether Comrade Vatterfeld should be seated as a delegate in this convention.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: The last two speakers spoke not at all to the question.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I was trying to ascertain what relation it has.

COMRADE BELOFF: Just one word as to something that was said last night. I don't know that it amounts to anything, but it was said anyway. I have seen it circulated several times about Katterfeld's 800 acre Kansas farm. The Kansas farm belongs to his father-in-law, and I think that Comrade Vatterfeld can qualify as a proletariat, even more so than myself, who owns a mortgaged home and house. Now, L. E. Vatterfeld should be seated in this convention.

The comrades of Kansas in their own judgment thought best to send him here. He is a member of the Socialist Party. Comrade Panken propounds this great question to us: if he has joined the Democratic party before or since his election, he couldn't be seated. I will answer that question with another question equally pertinent to the question at issue: Comrade Panken, if the moon is made of green cheese, would he throw in limberger salad for dinner?

COMRADE PANKEN: I will answer that. Nobody ever said he joined the Democratic party.

COMRADE BELOOF: I think I happen to know a little about the gentleman. I ought to, goodness knows. He is the worst disappointed man in Chicago, I imagine. Watterfeld didn't join the Democratic party, nor he didn't plan with the communist party. He planned for a great Socialist Party with L.E. Watterfeld as the high priest. Now, the communist party did organize. Here is the Socialist Party. Where is Watterfeld? That's what I think the situation is, exactly. To the last minute he has fought this thing within the party. Now, I know he helped to form this executive committee. I think he did wrong, but there was an unusual situation, and we know that. They claimed to be the rightfully elected executive committee. But, I don't see why they were afraid to wait a few days. Nevertheless, there was an unusual situation, and, if you

can compare that to him joining the Democratic party, is it fair? The people of Kansas knew absolutely where he stood and they elected him by a bigger vote, a good deal, than they did me. I protest in their name. They are Socialists. They will get over their brain-storm. I have no doubt of that. And, if they don't, that's their privilege to have what I consider a brain-storm, and keep it forever. They are good red-card members, and have supported the party, and they elected Vatterfeld and that's all there is at issue. I don't think that he will take his seat. I don't know whether he will or not. It is none of my business whether he does or not. But, they elected him, and that settles it.

COMRADE PLUNKETT: As a member of the committee, I want to speak on this matter. I haven't taken up any of your time in the last few days, but have been listening to the other orators display their oratory. The facts of the matter are these: as a member of this committee on contested delegates, these comrades whose seats are contested came to us and there were certain questions asked of them. Among the questions asked was, "Would you abide by the decision of the majority of this convention?" and invariably they said, "No." Another one which we propounded to them was, "In the event that you are seated, and some other delegates for some reason or other are not

seated, will you take your seat in the convention?"

Some of them said "no," and some of them refused to answer the question. Now, if you are going to seat Comrade Watterfeld, what excuse have you for not seating the entire contested delegations that appeared before us? I want to say to you that, as the state secretary, I have received the same correspondence that most of you state secretaries have received. You know the fight that has been made by this so-called new N.E.C. You know the correspondence that was passed out, and you know, from the resolutions that you have had, from the sale of the convention stamps, what effect it had upon your state organization. If you permit Watterfeld to sit in this convention, you will make a mistake.

COMRADE COOK: I come from a local that was not reorganized. The membership of Local Bronx, New York, expelled the most popular individual in our local, Ben Gettman. His branch expelled him. He received only 16 votes to 63. They defeated the left wing resolution 90 to 12 in his branch. We showed our desire to express radical views, and took our position with the radical movement of the world in no uncertain language, and our local found this element so damnably disrupted that we were compelled, for the sake of our life and for the sake of our organization, to expel this disrupted element. That is the membership of Local

bronx speaking. I have been elected on top of that, and on top of the reorganization work in New York, and we stand today absolutely and strongly organized, and we have nothing to compromise on this matter of discipline. I tell you I take my stand with the revolutionists of the world absolutely, without any hesitation or qualification, and I shall fight for these principles on this floor, and I tell you as we drift towards the point where revolution will take place, and I do firmly believe that the time is coming rapidly, I tell you we are going to have to maintain iron-clad discipline, revolutionary discipline, if you please, and no self-seeking leader, regardless of how sincere he may be, can dare to say that he is going to do so-and-so and proceed to do so at the expense of the organization. Comrades, I, too, am deeply interested in seeing Kansas and New Jersey hold to us. I tell you I would rather hold them here, because I personally hold largely their views, and I believe that I could make a stronger fight with their support, but I will not, under any circumstances, compromise with the matter of discipline. We cannot. If we do, we are gone absolutely. We are wiped out. We know that the communist party has no more discipline, has no more unity in it, than any organization holding a thousand different units, having a thousand distinct interests. This move-

ment has for years and years and years fought the battles of the working class of America, and today we stand--

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I would like for the speaker to speak on the question before us.

COMRADE COOK: I appeal to you to maintain this discipline by refusing these three people, Katterfeld included, a seat in this body.

COMRADE AMERINGER: I am not sure whether this is a trial or a coroner's inquest. I find that the accused person before the bar is not here, and that the corpse is alive. Now, comrades, let us stop this talking about something that is dead and past. Comrade Katterfeld, Comrade Lloyd and the rest of the comrades are down with the lower house. The job of this convention is to get down to business and to reorganize this party on a new basis. (Applause) I am sick and tired of discussing a corpse. Now, these comrades are out. They don't care to come in here, and we don't want them in here. Now, what's the use of chewing the rag about that thing any more? Go and adopt the report of that committee, and let's get down to the business of the convention, to rebuild our party.

(Cries for the previous question.)

COMRADE ONEAL: I agree with Comrade Ameringer. We want to get down to business. I am not going to consume any

time, but just call your attention to a very important thing. In the January meeting the same question was involved before the National Executive Committee. It was the matter of the affiliation or working of the Socialist members with the labor crafts. Katterfeld and Wagenknecht agreed with us unanimously in the National Executive Committee in the adoption of a recommendation to the membership, two clauses of which read as follows: that the National constitution of the Socialist Party forbids members from joining any other political party, and the endorsement of any other political organization by any member or subdivision of the Socialist Party is equally prohibited. We went on to state that, even if such other political organization were in harmony with the class struggle, even then the Socialist members could not be permitted to enter into that organization because the test of the organization is not what it professes, but what it practices. Now, then, in a few weeks after these comrades agreed upon that solemn statement, which was sent broadcast to the members throughout the Party, they proceeded to do the very thing which they said the Party members could not do.

COMRADE QUINLAN: I say that it comes with very bad grace from some of the delegates here to state that they favor rigid, iron-clad discipline, when they themselves haven't

practiced it,--when the St. Louis resolution--I refer to the platform--was enforced in New York city. Charity should begin at home--and some of them would not be here if it was obeyed. I refer to the St. Louis platform adopted in St. Louis. I suggest that the Matterfeld matter and the whole business be referred back again to the committee for reconsideration, and I make that as a motion.

Seconded.

COMRADE PANYEN: For the committee in the first place, I want to answer the comrade from Kansas.

COMRADE GOEBEL: Can I interrupt you? Was there not a motion made and seconded to refer this matter back to the committee?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Yes.

COMRADE PANYEN: I am now talking for the committee. Assume that one of the comrades joined the communist party, would he be entitled to sit in this convention? Assume that he became an anarchist in the interim? Would he be entitled to a seat in this convention? Of course, not. The first proposition that must be agreed to by a delegate at this convention is that he support the platform and the program of the Socialist Party. If he does not, support the platform and the program of the Socialist Party, he is not entitled to a seat in

this convention of the Socialist Party, because he must be a member of the Socialist Party to entitle him to such a seat. That answers that question. Now, what do the comrades want to do? You decided in the Lloyd case. You decided in the Harwood case. Now, we come to the Watterfeld case. Wherein is there any difference between the Harwood case and the Watterfeld case? There is some slight difference between the Lloyd case and the Watterfeld case; but, as regards Harwood and Watterfeld, the facts apply. Let us assume that the proposition made by the delegate from Kansas, so earnestly pleaded, is carried. What will be the situation in this convention? When the convention adjourns downstairs, Watterfeld can come up here and vote and act upon the policies of this Party. Then, the convention opens downstairs, and he can go back there and work and shape the policies of that party. If that is not two organizations, if that is not being represented in two organizations, I don't know what is representation in two organizations and two parties. That is the situation before us. You cannot possibly evade it. You can't possibly do that. You are trying to give a comrade a seat in this convention, while he has a seat in another convention. I owe just one allegiance, and that allegiance goes to the Socialist Party. (Applause). If he did owe allegiance

to the Socialist movement, then he lost that allegiance to the Socialist Party when he went down to the convention last night, When he went down there last night he rode himself out of the Socialist Party. If this committee were politicians, as they were charged, if this convention was made of politicians, as was charged in the bulletin issued by the comrades downstairs, the thing we would have done, knowing that the comrades are out forming an organization there, we would have come into this convention and presented a report seating the entire crowd, so that they could go back to the comrades and tell them just what these folks stand for. But, it is not a question of politics. It is a question of principle. It is a question of right, and, because it is right that these men should not have a seat in this convention, the committee recommends and insists that its recommendation be adopted by this convention. (Applause.)

COMRADE BAUSCH: May I ask a question of Comrade Pan-
ken?

COMRADE PAN-YEN: I have no objection.

(Cries of "Question.")

COMRADE BAUSCH: If the Katterfeld case was reconsidered and he was seated in this convention, and he came to this convention and went downstairs as a delegate to the other

convention, can't this convention logically then, and sincerely take action against him?

COMRADE PANKEN: Not if we follow the reasoning of a comrade representing the state of Kansas; not if we follow the reasoning of the comrade who took the position that the state is the only authorized body that can determine who is to be a delegate. If the state, and the state only, mark you, is to tell who is entitled to representation in this convention, and if you pass it along that line, we have no power at all... But, I deny it.

(Cries of "Question.")

The motion to reconsider was lost.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The question now to be voted on is, shall the report of the committee be sustained that Watterfeld be not seated in this convention.

Motion to sustain the committee carried.

Comrades Tennyson, Weiss, Bausch, Bircher and Jones wished to be recorded as voting against the motion.

COMRADE PANKEN: The next is the contest on the delegates of the state of California by members of the State Executive Committee from the state of California.

A COMRADE: How many delegates?

COMRADE PANKEN: Six of them.

COMRADE: Are delegates from both sides here?

COMRADE PAN'EN: No. Only the contested delegation is here, and there are no delegates by the contestants. The charges are that, in the election of these delegates, the branches of the foreign language federations which have been suspended from the party have been permitted to participate, and also that Local International of Los Angeles which has voted to join the communist party participated in the election: that the delegates to the convention presenting their credentials are not doing so in good faith, not intending to abide by the decision of this convention arrived at after a majority vote; that in public and private statements all of them have asserted that unless the left wing controls the convention, they would bolt and organize a communist party.

In support of these charges extracts of the minutes of the meetings of the State Executive Committee were submitted; in particular the following motion: "That ballots be sent to all federations expelled or in good standing," which was done. In another document in the form of a part of the California Socialist Bulletin, showing the tabulation of votes cast, it appears that the foreign language branches participated in the election. The California delegation speaking thru Comrade Dolsen admitted that the foreign language branches did participate in the election. Comrade Taylor, the state secretary, an-

bearing before the committee, denied the charges mentioned in specifications two and three, but, together with Comrades Bauer and Bedacht, who were before the committee, publicly stated that they would not be bound by the decisions of this convention and would, in the event any of the left wing delegates bolt, bolt with them.

The committee took a great deal of time considering this case, and, from the evidence submitted and admissions made by the comrades, the committee finds that the charges made against these comrades are sustained and recommends that they should not be seated.

(Cries of "Question.")

A COMRADE: I move the previous question.

COMRADE VAN ESSEN: I served on the committee on contests and could not conscientiously vote on this question of unseating the delegates from California. The action of the delegates from California to a large extent depended upon, or rather the state of California depends upon the issue of the action of the N.E.C., and involves the question of fraudulent ballots, an issue that should have been decided, in my estimation, before we should have passed upon the contest, or passed upon this question. The matter was put up to us in this way: The delegates from California believed that they were right in their no-

sition in permitting the foreign federations to vote, but, when they tabulated the ballots, the ballots did not affect the total as to who were to be the delegates. The result is that the delegates they sent here were elected by votes independent of the vote of the foreign federations. Now, to me, to ask us to pass upon the action of the California members when their action was based on their assumption that the action of the N.E.C. was illegal, was not right, was not authorized, made it impossible for me, as a member of the committee, to do that. It was the first case heard, and I made a motion in committee that they be seated. That was tentatively agreed to, and they were called back for a rehearing, and the chairman of your committee states that they wanted to take a definite position with the left wing, and a progressive program, and I think they have a right to do that, as a progressive position, if they see fit. It puts it back on the question to you to consider, in my opinion, the action of the N.E.C. first, before you can decide the legality of their position or the regularity of their position. As far as I am concerned, I believe they should be seated. Here we have been wasting hours and hours hashing and rehashing an issue that should have been decided first, and, if you had decided that one issue first--the action on the ballots--we would not have all

these contests. The contests would have been decided right there. I think the circumstances are such that the delegates from California who want to be members of the Socialist Party should be. There's a large organization out there. I think they cast five or six hundred votes, or between four and six hundred, independently of the foreign federations. I am not so sure of the exact number, because there were so many figures and so many factors there involved in that case that I didn't make note of that fact. And, if we unseat that delegation, and possibly the next one that's coming, although I should not refer to it, we will sever their relationship with the Socialist Party. And, I believe they are socialists, independent of what some of us good comrades from New York and other places think.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Did they take the attitude that they would not abide by the result of this convention?

COMRADE VAN ESSEN: I don't know whether that question is really in order. It was talked a number of times. I believe those comrades are in the same position of other comrades. If we take a radical position, they wouldn't abide by it. I hardly think I would abide by it myself, if the organization is going to take a reactionary position, which I don't think it is. But, to put them to an extreme test of that kind regardless of what position the convention takes, or any position, whether they would abide by it, I feel they have the

right to say, "We will use our own judgment," and that is the position I think they did take.

COMRADE HENRY: I am heartily in favor of seating the California delegates. Those California delegates have been doing excellent work, and this entire matter as to who is right and who is wrong, in the entire proceedings between the so-called "left" group and the so-called "right" group, has never been settled yet. The whole question is, Who is going to be a jury. So, in this case, these comrades of California, and I might say some of the other delegates, have never had an opportunity, as individuals, to come before this jury and state their case to this jury. (Applause) They have gone before a committee, and this is the jury here. I have had a little court experience, and I have never had any court experience where the defendant was out in the committee room somewhere being investigated, and not a chance to talk or have somebody to talk in his presence before the real jury. I talked to Comrade Taylor, of California, whom I have known for some years. I have met him a number of times. I think he is a whole-souled, honest comrade. Those boys, with Comrade Taylor and the rest of the delegates, have done excellent work in California, and made some of the reactionaries get out of the party, after they wrecked the party in California. (Applause) Taylor told me yes-

terday, "We haven't done anything intentionally against the Socialist Party, when we sent out our referendum."

He said, "We allowed the federations to vote, but we kept that vote separate and reported it separate, and it was not needed to elect the delegates that were sent here."

I want to say, if you are going to disfranchise these delegates, because you have the power, against the action of those folks, because they have certain views, you are going to wreck the Socialist Party and disgust your membership back home.

Now, here is the proposition: You haven't decided in this convention yet as to whether this delegation is in favor of or agrees with the action of this National Executive Committee, or whether it is in favor of the new executive committee being the

real executive committee, if you please. (Applause)

I want California, that has been doing some good work under these comrades, that have been struggling hard, and during the war, to have a seat in this convention, if they want it. If they don't want it, then, that's their

business. I am for a fair deal for these comrades, and

I am just as radical as the comrades in California, and I am not more radical than some of the comrades who are afraid some of these radicals will be in this convention.

I say to you that, in the United States, and every one

of you know it, 95 per cent. of the rank and file of the Socialist Party are in general agreement, at least, with the revolutionary position of the so-called "left wing." (Applause.)

COMRADE SHADID: Is a substitute motion in order?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Yes.

COMRADE SHADID: I make a substitute motion that we defer action on the report of the contest committee until this convention shall have acted on the action of the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I ask that that be treated as an amendment, which it really is, and give me a chance to make a substitute. I don't agree with the report of the committee. If this delegation received a sufficient number of votes from bona fide members, the mere fact that the executive committee took upon itself to call in votes from other organizations, in my judgment, would not invalidate their election as delegates, in the absence of any fraud. The executive committee of California or the state secretary send out the ballots. In other words, the members of the Socialist Party, separate and apart from the foreign federations, voted for these delegates, who are the only delegates who are sent to this convention. We understand those to be the facts.

COMRADE NAGEL: You don't know those are the facts.

COMRADE STEDMAN: The only thing I can say is this,

that it is the statement of one of the members of the committee here, and I can ascertain it very quickly, by asking about three questions. Was there any other contesting delegates?

COMRADE PANZEN: No.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Did they have before the committee the tabulated vote showing an election as against any other delegates in the state?

COMRADE PANZEN: No. They did not tabulate them. The situation is this: There are two totals on the sheets of tabulations. One excluding the foreign language branches, and one including the foreign language branches. That is the way the official sheet was sent into the National office, and the tabulation of the regularly and duly constituted branches of the party would entitle them to a seat in this convention. (Applause.)

COMRAD STEDMAN: I realize that the committee has the advantage of hearing all that transpired. I am going to make a motion that that report, so far as California is concerned, be not concurred in and the delegates be seated.

Seconded.

COMRADE PANZEN: Comrade Van Essen didn't vote on this delegation, and didn't vote on the Washington delegation.

We asked him at that time whether he desired to submit a minority report, and he said he didn't. I had part of the committee up here, and the committee, Roewer, Plunkett, Ameringer and myself--Nagel is not in agreement with us--are agreeable to accept the motion of Comrade Stedman to be the motion of the committee. (Applause, and cries of "Question.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The committee has now accepted the substitute offered by Comrade Stedman, that the contested delegation be seated. There is an amendment here that it be referred back to the committee. Do you insist--

COMRADE SHADID: No, I didn't say that, but that we defer any further action on the whole report of this contest committee until the action of the National Executive Committee is passed on.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Do you insist upon your amendment being put?

COMRADE SHADID: Yes, because it may affect the other delegations.

Motion to defer action on this report together with the balance of the report, lost.

Motion to seat the contested delegation from California was carried.

COMRADE PAN'EN: The situation in Washington--that is the last state from which the committee desires to make a report--has some characteristics similar to that of Cali-

fornia, except in one respect, and I desire you comrades to note that difference. The National Executive Committee makes the contest in this case. It specifies that the state committee of the Socialist Party in Washington permitted the suspended foreign language branches to take part in the election of these delegates; that the Socialist Party in Washington has endorsed the so-called left wing, a rival and separate political body, which the California state executive committee has not done.

In Support of these charges, the National Executive Committee submitted the tabulation sheets and these sheets disclose the fact that the foreign language groups which had been suspended for participating in the election of the delegates to the convention.

Comrade Fislerman, an alternate in place of Comrade Cassidy, appeared on behalf of the delegation and admitted that the charges made were correct. Comrade Fislerman stated to the committee that the Washington delegation will not be bound by the action of this convention, nor does he recognise the National Executive Committee as it functions now, nor the National office, other than the so-called left wing National Executive Committee. Furthermore, that the Washington delegation would leave the con-

vention the moment any left wing delegates bolted it, admitting thereby as the committee believes, that the Washington delegation owes its allegiance to an organization other than the Socialist Party.

The committee, therefore, recommends that the charges and specifications are sustained, and the contest is allowed, and recommends that these delegates should not be seated.

In connection with this report, I have before me the official minutes of the caucus of the left wing of August 29, 1919. I find that Comrade Greenhalgh was elected as vice-chairman, of that caucus, and I understand that this caucus had appointed a steering committee of five, whose decision and whose action shall be binding absolutely upon all of those who were in that caucus, regardless of the opinions of any of the delegates, and to which all of the delegates subscribed and agreed to.

COMRADE GOLDBERG: After the report of the National Executive Committee, if the convention decides that the National Executive Committee had no right to suspend an foreign language federation, will these delegates be seated?

COMRADE PANZEN: I don't know what the convention will do. I don't know what action that the convention will take upon the action of the National Executive Committee,

but I know this: that, as far as the Socialist Party of America is concerned, there is a National Executive Committee, there is a National office and there is a National secretary, and that National Executive Committee, that National office and that National secretary constitute the National Party of the United States, and recognition of another National office is contrary and subversive of discipline and violative of the provisions of the constitution of the National Socialist Party of America.

COMRADE COOK: I want to ask Comrade Panken a question. There is a point made that they endorsed the left wing program. Did they endorse it, or adopt? I think there is a distinction.

COMRADE PANKEN: An endorsement of the program.

COMRADE COOK: The organization or the program?

COMRADE PANKEN: The left wing organization.

COMRADE COOK: That's different.

COMRADE PANKEN: Even if it was only the endorsement of the left wing program, an allegiance to the so-called National Executive Committee puts that proposition very squarely before us, that they did not stand with the Socialist Party of America, and decidedly so.

COMRADE COOK: I move that that part of the report of the committee which refers to the endorsement of the program--

COMRADE PAN'EN: It is the organization.

COMRADE COOK: If it is the organization, that ought to stand. They have a perfect right---

COMRADE PAN'EN: Undoubtedly,, we would have acted otherwise-- "that the Socialist Party in Washington has endorsed the so-called left wing", is the charge.

COMRADE COOK: Would you add "organization" in there?

COMRADE PAN'EN: Yes.

A COMRADE: A point of information. By inserting the word "organization," is the committee positive that the evidence justifies adding the word "organization?" Did they use the word "organization?"

COMRADE PAN'EN: Absolutely.

(Cries of "question.")

COMRADE BAUSCH: When this delegation, or it's representative, appeared before this committee, did you ask them whether, by making that statement that they endorsed the left wing, whether they meant the program or the organization, and, if they did, why didn't you specify it in your report?

COMRADE PAN'EN: We have taken the charges as they came from the National office, and, as you remember, you heard yesterday that we had to work at break-neck speed. Regarding the Washington delegation, let me say this to you. There were no questions asked of any delegation.

A statement was permitted to be made by the delegates. Some delegates spoke for twenty minutes, some for twenty-five minutes, and the members of the committee then asked questions or injected questions, and in this case Wislerman appeared before the committee, and he only consumed about two minutes or three minutes, at the outside. He said to the committee, in as many words: "We don't recognize the National Executive Committee. We don't recognize the National office. We don't recognize the Socialist Party as the party. We recognize the others." And, there was no questions to be asked.

COMRADE NAGEL: I wish to make a statement so that we know what occurred before we can vote intelligently on this question. The California delegation came before us with their representative, and also the Oregon delegation and the Minnesota delegation. The Minnesota delegation, through Carney, and the Washington delegation through a man, whose name I can't recall now, came before us and told us the truth straight out, and without any equivocation. The Washington man did not use quite as grammatic language as the Minnesota man, but it meant exactly the same thing. The California men wanted to sneak into this convention, and they dodged the issue, and we voted at one time to admit them, and then we run down the charge, and we found out that they had been lying to

us, and we kicked them out, and, if you voted to allow the California delegation in, you should also vote to allow the Washington delegation in. They are just as good Socialists, and I have just as much admiration and as much faith in Cassidy as any man on the California delegation.

COMRADE LEE: We vote upon what we know. In the case of the California delegation, we have certain facts before us. I suppose the committee did it's best to bring out the facts. Those facts are here before us. We voted in favor of seating the California delegation because, on the facts, it seemed to me, there was reason that they should be seated, and no reason why they should not; that the irregularity of the election and the participation of the suspended branches did not affect the result of the election; that they were elected regardless of that. There was no evidence before the convention that they came here with the intention of bolting, if they didn't have their way, or that they came here with the attitude of separating themselves from the Socialist Party. It was upon that statement of facts that we voted, and I suppose that is the statement of facts upon which the majority of the convention voted to seat the California delegation. I don't know these delegates. I don't know who they are, or what kind of people they are. They may be inferior or superior--the Washington delegates--to any other delegates as So-

cialists. In the case of the Washington delegates, the case is equally difficult. They came here with the intention of bolting if they didn't have their way; that they had come here, not recognizing the Socialist Party organization. They came here upon their own statement, and in a manner, which gives them no right, political, moral or legal, or anything else, to claim a seat in this convention. In this case I shall vote not to admit the delegation.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I would like to know whether these Washington delegates are down stairs, participating in the formation of a new party.

COMRADE PANKEN: Of course.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: They are down there now?

COMRADE PANKEN: Yes.

COMRADE BIRCHER: What's that got to do with it?

COMRADE WEISS: The question of the Washington delegates brings squarely before the house the issue that has been decided at the beginning of our deliberations. The Washington delegation raises the question that they didn't recognize the National Executive Committee because they considered the new executive committee duly elected. In order to vote on this question at all, it is imperative that we go into consideration of that question, and any decision that we reach without considering that puts us on record as

COMRADE GERBER: I don't see why, at this time, we should defer action on this matter. I want to say that, in the early part of the convention, when a motion was made to change the report of the special committee on contested elections, there was just Comrade Weiss and a few others with him here that objected. They said we can't take action on anything until all delegates against whom there is a contest are seated in this convention. I could see there was some reason in it, and I yielded. I was satisfied. This is the last report on any of the delegates, and there is no reason at all to at this time defer action until they have heard the other, because, if you continue to do that, we will be here until next Christmas, and not only until Thanksgiving Day.

A COMRADE: I move the previous question.

COMRADE BERLYN: We are wasting a lot of time. We are not blind to the contest between upstairs and downstairs. The Washington delegates do not recognize us. Now, you want us to get on our knees and say, "Please come upstairs." I am here because I recognize the National Executive Committee, which now functions and through whose call I am here. Our election has been held by virtue of that call. The fellows downstairs also issued a call, and those who recognize them are here by virtue of their call. They are another bunch. This organization is supposed to be composed

evading the crucial point. Do we or do we not recognize that action? The committee and every one here, or many of us here, have acted on the assumption that every delegate here is in full accord with the actions of the executive committee. That assumption, I wish to inform you, is erroneous. In New Jersey, when the thing was done, we almost unanimously recorded our disapproval of the action, but, in order to entitle New Jersey to a seat in this convention, we agreed temporarily to abide by that decision, and elected our delegates without the vote of the foreign federations, and I can say they were elected by as large a majority as any other state. I, therefore, insist to every one here, that they cannot decide this question without going at once into the question as to whether or not the National Executive Committee's action in suspending these federations was a proper one. I move you, therefore, that this discussion be not closed until the matter of the action of the executive committee be decided, and, if there is a motion before the house, I make that in the form of an amendment. I don't think that we will have an opportunity to properly decide this question without giving a hearing and voice to the people whom we have excluded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The amendment is that no action be taken on this matter until after the convention has acted on the matter pertaining to the National Executive Committee.

of those who recognize the power of the executive committee which is functioning here. The Washington delegation dis-^{said} tinctly /that they were with the crowd downstairs. They are downstairs now. To get some fish-hooks and pull them up here is nonsense. Get busy. We have a whole lot to do. There has been a good deal of talk about a radical platform and a progressive platform, and half of the fellows don't know what "progressive" is. They don't know what "radical" is. They don't know what socialism is. They don't know the distinction between communism and socialism. (Cries of "shut up.") I know what I am talking about. We are troubled between downstairs and upstairs. There are some here yet who belong downstairs. They don't believe in our party as she is functioning. Perhaps our party has not been ideal, but I have been loyal to it. I have no right to repudiate this National Executive Committee. When the state of Washington distinctly states, and she is functioning now downstairs, when she says she does not recognize us, what have we to do with her?

(Cries of "question.")

COMRADE VAN ESSEN: As a member of the committee, I ask the floor.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Those who favor the closing of the debate say "aye." Those to the contrary, say "no."

Motion to close debate carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: Comrade Nagel has already informed the convention that, when the committee considered the California delegation, it arrived at the conclusion originally that the California delegation be seated. But, after some discussion, the committee agreed among itself that the delegates be invited to again appear before the committee for further inquiries, and it was after those inquiries that we came to the conclusion that we originally recommended, and which we afterwards changed in this hall. The situation in regard to Washington is not at all like the situation in California. When I reported to you on the Washington delegation, I asked you to make the distinction. The Washington state organization recognized, and by recognition changed its allegiance from the Socialist Party to some other organization. That is the situation, and that is the difference between the California and the question of the Washington delegation. Now, as regards the amendment of Comrade Weiss, of New Jersey, that we defer action on this report until we have an opportunity to dispose of the special committee on contested referendum, the question in this case is not only the proposition as to whether the language federation branches voted in the election, but the question in this contest also depends and depends largely upon the action of the state organization, the state committee in the state of Washington with reference to the recognition of

the so-called new National Executive Committee and that differentiation, that difference, must be kept in your mind when you come to vote upon this proposition. I think the committee has acted with the greatest amount of impartiality. Those of you who have attended the meetings of the committee will remember that the committee has received at the hands of some of the delegations some insults which, under other circumstances, would possibly have called forth action on the part of at least some of us who have got the strength to do it. In the case of Washington, the National office is absolutely and unqualifiedly justified in the contest that it makes, and the amendment should be defeated and the report of the committee sustained.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I wish Comrade Van Essen would get the floor.

COMRADE PANKEN: In the course of my remarks, I might add that Comrade Van Essen abstained from voting on the Washington contest. We asked him at that time whether he would submit a minority report, and he said no. His position was at that time just as his position was in the California situation. I think Comrade Van Essen should have the floor.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I move that Comrade Van Essen be given the floor.

A COMRADE: Are we following parliamentary rules, or what

kind of rules? If you make a distinction between one or another, you are forming a bad precedent.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There has been objection to his having the floor; under the rules you adopted, it requires unanimous consent.

COMRADE KRUSE: Isn't it a fact that, under the rules, the committee has the right to close? If there is a majority and a minority on the committee, doesn't the minority get a hearing?

COMRADE GERBER: They both agree.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: If there is any minority report of that committee, we will be glad to hear it. There is a motion before the house, and that is that the delegation be not seated. There is an amendment that no action be taken until after the convention has acted on the matter pertaining to the National Executive Committee.

A vote being taken on the amendment to defer action was lost.

COMRADE HOEHN: I ask that Comrade Van Essen be given the floor.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: A vote is being taken.

COMRADE CLAESSENS: A point of order. Isn't it proper in parliamentary practice that the minority of the committee be given a chance to sum up?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is no minority.

COMRADE GERMER: How do you know?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Comrade Van Essen, do you care to make a minority report for this committee?

COMRADE VANESSEN: I wish to raise a minority voice.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Is there any objection to it? (Cries of "no.")

COMRADE VANESSEN: I agree with Comrade Weiss' position. I took that position in the committee, and I think it is the only consistent position, regardless of what you did while we were away. I would have raised my voice in opposition to this action had I been here. Pennsylvania was almost in the same boat as Washington was in. Our state executive committee could not find the law justifying the action of the N.E.C., and then felt it was bad judgment, with all due respects to the men on the N.E.C., and then had decided not to concur with the N.E.C., and then, after considering the matter, in order to be good socialists, loyal to the organization, they reversed their position. I think Washington state is very much in the same position. Of course, a mistake has been to go downstairs. I don't know what the Pennsylvania delegation would have done if they had to sit out here two days. I really don't know. There are psychological factors involved in their conduct in going down there. I think if you seat them, you will hold Washington in your party. Their attitude has been honest. As far as I am concerned, if you decide the other issue first,

you will have them with you, but, if you decide the other issue, I think you are making a mistake. Therefore, I believe you should adopt Comrade Weiss's motion, from the position that I take.

On a viva voce vote, the Chair declared that the motion to adopt the report of the committee and to not seat the Washington delegation was carried. A division was called for.

COMRADE VAN ESSEN: A point of order. I maintain that vote was not taken in good order. There is confusion here, and we didn't vote clearly. I ask for a revote.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I have been requested to restate the question, and take another vote on it. The motion is to sustain the report of the committee and not seat the delegation from Washington.

The vote showed 66 for the report and 38 against.

CHAIRMAN HOAN One vote would not change the result anyway.

COMRADE VAN ESSEN You agreed with my point when you submitted it to a vote.

COMRADE SEHL: I voted in the affirmative on the California delegation, and I would like to make a motion for a reconsideration, but, to preface my motion--- (Cries of "no.") This is my reason, and you might not say "no." I want a reconsideration, not that I want to reverse the decision,

but I think there is one thing we neglected to do. (Cries of "point of order.")

A COMRADE: Point of order. It has not been seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Your motion has not been seconded, and a discussion is out of order until it is seconded.

COMRADE WILSON: I ask that the sergeant-at-arms be instructed to notify the California delegation that they be seated in this convention.

Seconded, and carried.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: Am I in order to move a reconsideration of one of the contests? And, that is the case of New Jersey. Am I in order?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Don't let the matter of reconsideration go until the acceptance of the committee's report.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: What is the parliamentary rule on that?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The Chair will rule that if this convention, or any of its delegates, desire to reconsider any of the actions taken, they have a right.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: I desire to make a motion, and, if seconded, will explain the reasons for it. I desire to move that the case of New Jersey, in the unseating of Comrade Harwood, be reconsidered.

A COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: My reasons are as follows: We want to

do away with disruption. The statement was made on the floor of this convention that Comrade Harwood was not a member of the Socialist Party. Comrade Harwood has tried to keep the organization intact in New Jersey. He honestly believed that he was elected. My main appeal to you is for the unity of the party. We have thrown out enough. I want to save the three or four hundred comrades in New Jersey from disruption by having Comrade Harwood seated, and the delegation in line with the party.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I would like to ask Comrade Panken whether the committee knows of any reason why they should take this case back for reconsideration.

COMRADE PANKEN: I don't know of any reason, except something that was said to me in confidence.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I can give a good reason to everybody that believes in fair play. Comrade Panken, you remember you announced the sittings of the committee, and you tried to give us how long it would take for each case, and you stated the cases that would be heard that night, and the cases that would be heard the next morning. It happens that I was at the hearing, and New Jersey took you on the strength of your announcement, and didn't come to that hearing at night, and came around the next morning, as being interested in the seating of one of their delegates, and found that the case

had been closed.

COMRADE PANKEN: You will remember that, when we made the announcement that we would take up other cases that hadn't been announced on the floor of the convention, if any of the delegates concluded to ask for a continuance until the day following, we would be glad to take them up the day following. Comrade Harwood took the position that we proceed that night.

COMRADE GOEBEL: California and other states, and New Jersey, insist that Comrade Harwood had no right to settle their part of it. I know the committee won't shirk a little more work. Send the case back to the committee, and allow New Jersey and any others who are interested to appear before them and then come back and, without any lengthy discussion, settle it.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I believe in this motion for a reconsideration. I think it ought to receive the support of the house, for this reason: that the attitude of this convention to unseat certain delegates, who were elected, must determine a good deal by the attitude of these delegates in the convention. It seems to me that we have been somewhat misinformed; that we have not received the absolute and correct information in the case of Comrade Harwood. His case is quite different, or there is some difference between his

case and the case of the Washington delegation, we will say. The Washington delegation does not want to be here. They don't desire to have any affiliation further with the Socialist Party as it is constituted today. (Cries of "How do you know it?") I am informed so. A representative at the committee so stated, that it didn't recognize the convention, didn't recognize the executive committee and didn't recognize anybody, and didn't want to be here, in the first place. I understand that, in the Harwood case, it is quite different, and I understand further that the New Jersey organization, of which Comrade Harwood is the secretary, has not gone to the extent, has not affiliated itself, as the organization in Washington has. And, I believe, because of these facts, this convention might reconsider the question and open it for discussion, and, if we feel we made a mistake, we will have time to rectify it.

COMRADE KRAFFT: I would like to ask the chairman or the committee, Did Comrade Harwood join the organization downstairs before he was rejected or after he was rejected?

COMRADE WEISS: After he was rejected.

COMRADE PANKEN: That question was not asked of Comrade Harwood, for this reason: the specification of the charges was not a charge that he had affiliated with the left wing organization. As you remember, the charge was that he had

jeopardized the National office and the National party, and that he had taken office before the tabulation of the vote on the election of the National Executive Committee. In other words, that he had jeopardized the power of the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE KRAFFT: I am not satisfied with the answer.

COMRADE PANKEN: That's the best answer I can give you, and it is unfortunate.

COMRADE KRAFFT: As I understand it, Comrade Harwood was rejected this morning. He participated in this convention downstairs last night, of which we have the minutes here, or the night before that. He left this convention before he was rejected. Why do we want him here?

COMRADE BAUSCH: The delegates from New Jersey, had a meeting in the early hours this morning, and came to this convention to try and stay here, and help bring out a unified organization. A good deal was said and done to sway this convention by the fact submitted in regard to a check for the National assessment stamps. We thrashed this matter out last night. Arguments were advanced that this was quite liable to happen, for many reasons. Harwood is not an efficient bookkeeper. The girl that had been in the state office under Comrade Milo Jones, who was very efficient in carrying on the work of that office, left the office at the time Harwood went in. He got a new stenographer there, who

was inexperienced. Harwood left a great deal of the work to her. And, under those circumstances, things are liable to happen. The New Jersey delegation are split already. New Jersey has advanced the railroad fare to nearly all of its delegation, and two delegates, who have received their railroad fare, are not attending this convention, but are attending the one downstairs, Petzilt and Wolff. We intend to go back to New Jersey unified, although not unified to the extent that we were when we came here, and we intend to take up the case of these two delegates that are not attending this convention, but received the money from the state to do so. We want to go back to New Jersey and try to build up a movement which will be a credit to the National organization. We were willing in New Jersey to allow all of these differences be set aside for the time being until we met in this convention. We want to bring about solidarity. Harwood has done his best in many directions to try to accomplish this end. He has fought the Communist League in Essex county to the last ditch. He has done everything to help us along. Comrade Berenberg wanted to report yesterday on the case of Harwood, and I thought he was going to report on the fact that Harwood had dropped the organization and torn up his card, if unity cannot be brought about. Harwood has done no such thing. We interviewed him, and he says he wants to come into this con-

vention. He wants to stand by the New Jersey delegation. He wants to try to bring about a unified organization when we leave the city of Chicago. (Applause) And, I hope and trust that this matter will be considered, from that point of view.

COMRADE BERGER: Last night I voted to unseat Comrade Lloyd, a man who is on my bond for fifty thousand dollars, because, as you all well know, I am under \$145000.00; probably the most highly valued man in this convention. (Laughter) I voted to unseat Lloyd, a man whom I have known from boyhood, a man whose father was an intimate friend of mine; and, I voted to unseat him for the very same reason that I have voted to unseat Harwood. I don't know Harwood personally; but, I believe that any man who, at this time when the Government of the United States, the capitalist class and all the forces of darkness and reaction are trying to crush our Party, the man, who at this time is stabbing us in the back, is a criminal. (Cry of "It's a lie.") He is a criminal, and I don't want to sit with that kind of fellow in this convention. That's all there is to it. If you reconsider your decision of last night, and you seat that fellow who just behaved like a rowdy out there, if you seat him in this convention, then you ought to seat at least the other men, who are better men than he in every respect, a man like Wm. Gross Lloyd, a man who is not a

sneak, not a man who tries to sneak in the back way and then stab you in the back, or stab the organization in the back, a man who says, "I am not a socialist, I want to destroy it, and I want to have anarcho, syndicalism." If you comrades try to pull the anarcho-syndicalist game too long,--I tell you, I have been a socialist all my life, and a good many of these comrades have been in this movement for many years, and we are not going to turn communists, we are not going to turn anarcho-syndicalists; we are going to stand by the old International Socialist Party, and we will try to stay in this party, which was founded on the principles of International Socialism. I ought to know. I helped to write most of the platform, and I ought to know what this party stands for. I tell you, comrades, if you want to change this party, you can't change me. You will simply have to go downstairs and go where you belong. Now, I am against the reconsidering of this motion. I am against the changing of the entire matter. I move that this be laid on the table.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I should like to state to those gathered outside that I trust no one from this convention will go downstairs and holler and hoot or make sarcastic remarks, and I hope that everybody gathered out there are the character of men and women that will have sufficient respect not to interfere with the progress of this convention. We

desire to proceed in an orderly way, and I know and believe that you will permit us to do so.

COMRAD: SHIPLACOFF: I rise to amend the motion to reconsider.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is no amendment to a motion to reconsider to be made.

COMRAD: SHIPLACOFF: Can any motion now be made?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: No.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Will you permit me to state my motion, and then decide whether it is in order?

COMRADE SHEAHAN: Point of order. The amendment is not in order, and, consequently, any statement as to the reason for the amendment is not in order. Can I have the floor? (Laughter.)

CHAIRMAN HOAN: A motion to reconsider cannot be amended, and cannot receive any statements.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Will you permit me to make a statement, and then decide? I moved that all contested delegates, who were unseated because of their own unfitness to be delegates of this convention, should be reconsidered and that all those whose constituencies have not been misrepresented in any sense of the word, should be seated.

A COMRAD: A point of order.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion is out of order.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Will you permit me to explain my motion?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: No; it is out of order.

COMRADE JONES: In the case of Fred Harwood---

A COMRADE: Point of order. I ask that Comrade Harwood be given the floor for five minutes to explain his stand.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is a motion for reconsideration before the house, and nothing else is in order.

COMRADE JONES: The committee the other night said they would hear three states, and the rest of them taken up the next day. The delegates from New Jersey went away from the convention when it adjourned, thinking they could come the next day and appear for Harwood. He is state secretary in New Jersey. Harwood represents the minority of the party, and he is proud of it. He does not believe in the Berger movement. He does not believe in pure and simple political action, as many here believe it. They can deny it as much as they like, but he is not a "left wing-er." He never affiliated himself with the "left wing," and he is a thorn in the side of the "left wing". There has been a personal fight in New Jersey to some extent between Harwood and one of the other leaders there. Harwood was state secretary when I resigned. I was in Washington when I resigned. I was active from the time I went back. I looked into what has been going on, and he

kept his records as well as any one could keep them, under the circumstances. The fact that he couldn't handle them for the first time should not weigh against him. Today Comrade Harwood stands as a man in New Jersey who is solid for the Socialist Party, whom the rank and file wants to represent them here at this convention. He was elected to come here, and he should have a seat here. He happens to be one who was elected on the new executive committee; he went to the meeting of the new executive committee. At the same time, because of remarks made in New Jersey that the chances were that they would not have a convention because the money was not coming in for it, he stated that he wanted the convention called together by Germer, and he wanted to know whether he was duly elected or not. And, he does not belong to the "left wing;" he belongs to the Socialist movement; not in the reform socialist movement, but in the revolutionary socialist movement. There is no reason in the world why he should not be seated here with the rest of the delegates.

COMRADE ROEWER: As a member of this committee on contested seats, I am satisfied that the evidence submitted before the committee justified the conclusions which we submitted to this body. It now appears, however, from the delegation from New Jersey that there is further evidence that should be submitted to the committee, and,

for that reason, the matter should be reconsidered, and then referred back to the committee. It is quite possible that, when the delegates from the state of New Jersey submit the evidence that they wanted to submit and intended to submit and didn't get an opportunity to submit, it is quite possible that your committee may bring in a different report. I, therefore, hope that the convention will vote for a reconsideration.

(Cries of "Question.")

COMRADE KRUSE: I just want to ask the delegates to remember that the issue before the house is not whether Harwood shall be seated or not. The issue before the house is whether we shall reconsider his case, and the arguments advanced by Comrade Jones should be heeded by the delegates. There may be new evidence.

The motion to reconsider carried.

COMRADE BEARAY: I move you that the report of the committee be sent back to the committee with instructions that they hear further evidence, and bring in a report.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I amend that, that Harwood be seated in this convention.

Seconded.

COMRADE WALDMAN: We have all been talking about saving time.

COMRADE GERBER: I rise to a point of order. A motion

to refer cannot be amended.

CHAIRMAN HOAR: The Chair rules that a motion to refer cannot be amended.

COMRADE WALDMAN: We want to save time. From the remarks made by the comrade from New Jersey who, yesterday, advised the seating of Comrade Harwood, we might conclude from the evidence before the committee that it will be justifiable to seat Harwood. I see no reason why the time of this convention should be longer taken up by further referring the question to the committee; otherwise, we can go on with the business. The same arguments will come up again, and another two or three hours will be wasted. Two and a half days have passed, and we haven't started on our work. There are plenty of others who belong to the other side of the convention who hold views that are far less socialistic than Comrade Harwood's views are. Let his voice be heard with the rest of the delegates.

COMRADE BLOCK: I call for the previous question. Inasmuch as we have already discussed the motion, I call for the previous question.

COMRADE BIRCHER: I believe, in referring this matter back to the committee, that it will only be a waste of time. We can't give you any more or new evidence or any other kind of evidence than we have already presented. It is absolutely useless to go back to the

committee. It is absolutely useless to take an adjournment now and wait for a couple of hours in the afternoon before another battle of this kind will arise. Let him be seated or not be seated. That is the question.

COMRADE GERBER: A motion to refer cannot be amended. I still hold to my point of order. If you hold otherwise, I will appeal from your decision.

COMRADE STEWMAN: Do you think you will have any more evidence before your committee than the house has before it at the present time?

COMRADE PANYEN: It is quite possible. There may be testimony submitted to the committee which has not yet been brought out into the discussion.

COMRADE STEWMAN: Dont you think the facts you have had under discussion is enough?

COMRADE PANYEN: I think we can get some more light on the proposition.

COMRADE STEWMAN: I think, if we had all the facts before the house that the committee had, we might act upon it. I ask that we go into a committee of the whole.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The point of order was raised that the amendment to the motion was out of order. On the first page of the rules of order it states it can be amended. Later on, it explains that it can only be amend-

ed with reference to the character of the committee to which it is referred. I, therefore, desire to change my ruling, and that the amendment is out of order.

COMRADE STEPMAN: I will offer, then, as a substitute that we resolve into a committee of the whole and dispose of it.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Out of order.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that, in view of the explanation given as to Roberts' Rules of Order, that the motion be referred to the convention as a committee of the whole.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion is in order. Are you ready for the question.

Motion to go into a committee of the whole is carried.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion before the house is, first,--

COMRADE WALDMAN: To seat Comrade Harwood as a delegate.

COMRADE BRANDT: I believe I understood the committee correctly. The charges are, in part, that at a meeting of this alleged new executive committee, Harwood made a motion that no due stamps be purchased from the National office of the Socialist Party, but, if any person, branch or local or state, as I understand it, decided to purchase

due stamps, that they be purchased from Harwood. The committee, as I understand it, reports that Comrade Harwood did not deny that statement and motion, and if such is correct, then I hold, notwithstanding what some may say, he does not deserve a seat in this convention.

Vice-Chairman Wilson called to the Chair.

COMRADE PANFEN: The logical thing for us to do now is to move an amendment to this motion. I don't know whether there are comrades here who would move such an amendment, that the report of the committee as regards all of the contested seats be overthrown and that all of the delegates be seated. That is the only logical position to take.

COMRADE SHIRLACOFF: I take that position.

COMRADE PANFEN: I know that you are always logical, and exceedingly good-hearted, in addition to being logical, which very seldom goes together. Now, here is the situation. I can understand a reference to the committee so that the committee may go into session and listen to other testimony that the comrades of New Jersey may desire to submit. It comes with a great deal of force to my mind at this moment that, after Comrade Roewer made a statement and made it as a delegate, but injected into his statement the fact that he was a member of the committee, that there may be evidence that the New Jersey

delegation may desire to submit, and for that reason you ought to vote for a reconsideration. Bear in mind just that statement made by Comrade Roewer that, since New Jersey's delegates may have additional testimony to submit, it would be wise and just and proper that the matter be referred to the committee. If you seat Harwood in this convention without referring it first for further evidence, that means that you will have to seat Katterfeld, that means that you will have to seat Lloyd. (Cries of "no.") Just one minute. If you are logical, the same state of facts that apply to Comrade Harwood, apply also to Comrade Katterfeld. It doesn't apply to Comrade Lloyd, as I had occasion to remark when I reported for the committee. I want to say to this convention the following: if Harwood would go back to the committee, and we would propound to him a few questions, and if he answered those questions as I think he ought to answer them, I think that this committee would then recommend that he be seated in this convention. As the matter stands just now, Comrade Harwood has severed his connection with the Socialist Party by recognizing the new National Executive Committee. As the matter stands now, Harwood has jeopardized the Socialist Party. As the matter stands now, Harwood stood with the group downstairs, and you can't deny it. And,

I want to know, first, whether Harwood is ready to stay in the Socialist Party. I want to know now whether Comrade Harwood repudiates the so-styled new National Executive Committee. I want to know now, before we seat him, whether Harwood is going to stay in this convention. I want to know now whether he is going to bolt or not. I want to know now, before we seat him, whether he is going to submit to the majority decision of the Socialist Party before he is seated in this convention. (Applause)

COMRADE COOK: I don't like to be double-crossed. A great many of us have voted against Fred Harwood on the facts as presented by the committee. We have been compelled, by the unanimous voice of the New Jersey delegation, to reconsider, because they say they have other evidence to place before the committee. This body is not competent or prepared to hear the facts as they are. I tell you, if you vote here now, I shall vote against his being seated, because the facts presented to my mind don't convince me any other way but what he has violated the discipline of the Party, and I will try and prevent the seating of this delegate. If it goes back to the committee, I am of the opinion that they will come back here with the same report we had the first time. The minute they do, I shall vote against him, then, but I would like to hear the facts, and I appeal to you to refer this back

to the committee.

COMRADE KRUSE: I want to know whether it would be in order, while in a committee of the whole, to make a motion referring this matter and other matters to the committee.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: Yes.

COMRADE KRUSE: I move that the case of Fred Harwood and all other cases---

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: The only thing before the committee as a whole is the case of Harwood.

COMRADE KRUSE: I move that the case of Fred Harwood be referred to the contest committee for a further report to the house.

COMRADE GERBER: I second that motion.

COMRADE WALDMAN: A point of order.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: The amendment is that the original motion that Harwood be seated---

COMRADE WALDMAN: The point of order is; the question of Comrade Harwood was referred to this committee for consideration. This committee is not the convention but the committee to consider the case of Harwood. Therefore, that motion---

COMRADE KRUSE: How about a sub-committee?

SECRETARY GERBER: That's what I have got it already.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: The amendment is to the motion

to seat Harwood, the amendment being that the matter be referred back to the contest committee.

COMRADE LEE: I submit that amendments to a motion before the committee as a whole are in order. I regretted that the motion was made to seat Harwood by the house after a reconsideration had been taken. We are sitting in a committee of the whole on the case of Harwood. There is a motion to send it back to the committee on contests. I suggest, if you go on discussing, we will spend an indefinite time without getting any further. I suggest that the best thing is to adopt the amendment of Kruse, I believe, that the matter be sent back to the committee on contests. I have no doubt the committee on contests will report at a very early time, and the matter will be settled in a way that will be definite.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: Why not allow Comrade Harwood make a statement here?

COMRADE ORR: I am opposed to the amendment. There are some comrades who believe, if we act in one way in the case of Comrade Harwood, we necessarily must act the same way with all the others who have been acted upon. I maintain that is a very extreme condition. The fact is that Harwood's case is entirely different than the other cases. (Cries of "It is not.") And, they have said that the

evidence that they have in addition to the evidence yesterday has been given to them on the floor this morning, and I maintain, furthermore, that this committee of the whole, Comrade Harwood can be called before this meeting and asked the various questions that the members want to ask him. I think, furthermore, Comrades Panken and Lee have argued very strongly that what we ought to do is to refer it to a sub-committee, so that the various questions can be asked there, and they argue it as a matter of saving time. I maintain that, after it is referred to a sub-committee and then the sub-committee hears it, the sub-committee must then render its report, whether it be favorable or unfavorable, and the fact is there will be much time or more time that is going to be consumed than will be consumed in this way. And that is why, comrades, this being a committee of the whole, we can hear Harwood and any other evidence, and hear both sides, pro and con, and the question can be thrashed out and we can settle the question right here and now. And, I am in favor of the motion to seat Harwood right here.

COMRADE SHIPLEY: I move the previous question.

Seconded.

COMRADE GERMER: A question of information. Can any one, speaking for Harwood, state as to whether he stands by the

motion that he made, and adopted by the new National Executive Committee?

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: That is a matter to be considered by the committee, if it is referred back, or if the original motion is considered by the committee as a whole, and not to be discussed now.

COMRADE GEMER: Wait a minute. If the amendment is defeated, then the committee as a whole has a right to know what Harwood's position is.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: Then, that's a good time for you to ask. The original motion is to seat Harwood, from New Jersey. It has been amended by Comrade Kruse that the contest on Harwood's seat be referred back to the contest committee. The vote comes on the amendment to refer back to the contest committee.

A viva voce vote being called, a division was asked, and on the vote by hand the result was 52 for and 52 against the amendment.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: The vote is a tie, in which case I understand the chairman casts the deciding vote, and I vote for the amendment. I vote to refer the matter back to the committee.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: Probably there are some that did not vote. I suggest a further division.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: I think the count is correct.

(Cries for a further division, and for another vote.)

VICE-CHAIRMAN: The decision of the Chair is that the vote was a tie, and the Chair, and the Chair cast his vote in the affirmative, referring the matter back to the contest committee.

COMRADE BEARAK: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

COMRADE SHUPLACOFF: I move that we adjourn for one hour.

A COMRADE: Out of order.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: The decision of the Chair has been appealed from.

Chairman Hoan in the Chair.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The question is whether the decision of the Chair be the decision of this house.

COMRADE BEARAK: The reason I appeal from the decision of the Chair is as follows: the chairman, at the opening of the convention, laid down this rule, that at any time before he announces the official vote, any delegate has the right to ask for a roll call or further division of the house. A division was asked for before Comrade Wilson decided how the vote stood and before he himself voted, and I maintain that I have a right to ask for a further division of the house. There are comrades here who did not vote. I maintain that the chairman can only decide a tie vote when all the delegates present who have a right

to vote have voted. There are comrades here who did not vote either way, and I ask you that the Chair be not sustained, but find out just how the comrades stand.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: After the vote was taken, I announced it was a tie, that it was 52 to 52. No division was called for until after that announcement was made, or I didn't recognize it, at any rate. I voted in the affirmative. It is up to the delegates whether they want to count this thing over again. It is totally immaterial to me what you do.

COMRADE KRUSE: A point of information. I want to know whether the comrade voted or not when the vote was 52 to 52?

COMRADE GERBER: I didn't.

COMRADE KRUSE: Then, he had a right to vote, whether he did or not.

VICE-CHAIRMAN WILSON: The question is whether the decision of the Chair shall be the decision of the house.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Those in favor of that decision will make it manifest by saying "aye"--

A COMRADE: The appeal that was taken was whether the party had a right to demand a division, and not whether the decision was right or not.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: That's the same thing.

A viva voce vote was had, but, upon a cry for a division, the motion was put to a vote by the raise of hands, the vote showing 54 for and 51 against.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The vote stands, 54 in favor of sustaining the Chair and 51 against. The report of the committee of the whole is that the matter be referred to the committee on contests. A motion to raise the committee of the whole is now in order.

COMRADE GERBER: I so move.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE GERBER: I now move you that we take a recess until 2.30.

Seconded.

COMRADE BEARAK: I notice that, on the official list of delegates, the German federation is not given a delegate. I would like to know if the German federation of the Socialist Party has a fraternal delegate in this convention.

The motion to adjourn until 2.30 this afternoon was carried, it now being 1.15 P.M.

September 1st, 1919.

2.30 o'clock, P.M.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Hoan.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The committee on contests has just sent word that they will not be ready to report before one hour on the matter before them. The next order of business is the matter referring to the contested referendums.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I move that all delegates who are seated in this convention and refuse to participate in the convention, be unseated for the rest of the sessions in this convention.

COMRADE LEE: There is no second.

COMRADE BRANDT: I would suggest possibly, in connection with that, that there be a roll-call. I make this suggestion, for one particular reason. I think now that we should know just exactly where we are at. We have had among us in the Missouri delegation one delegate whom we had sufficient grounds to contest his seat, but we did not want to do it, because we have seen certain elements of people making capital out of such things. Instead, we had a talk with him, and he stated he was all right and was with us. We have observed, though, that about half of the time he is not here. He is downstairs or some place. This morning we saw fit to see that somebody followed him downstairs, and he was found downstairs, and

when the roll-call was taken downstairs, Missouri was called, and he voted in their roll-call. Now, that is sabotage, and I, for one, believe that we have reached that stage where it is up to the people, who want to stay with the Socialist Party, to drive out such elements, and every person that wants to be with the Party to stay with the Party. That's why I stated yesterday that I have got some respect for Carney and such people as him, who have got the courage to stand up and tell you where they are at. But, the miserable sneaks that are trying to double-cross us and playing hypocrites, it is time for this convention to act and drive them out of here. They don't belong here. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion has not received a second as yet.

A COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE BRANDT: I ask the mover to include in that that we have a roll-call.

COMRADE LEE: We continue to make motions, and we can remain here for the rest of the night, if we adopt the Waldman motion. What I was wishing was to proceed with business. I believe in Comrade Brandt's amendment, and the reasons he has given. I think we ought to immediately defeat this resolution, though, and go ahead with business.

(Cries of "Question.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: This matter can be partly taken up when the committee on contested elections comes in.

(Cries of "no", and "question" called for.)

COMRADE BIRCHER: I pointed this matter out this mornin' to the convention, that two delegates from New Jersey, whose credentials were accepted by this convention and were seated, were doing exactly this thing. I told this convention that, when I got back to New Jersey, I was going to take the matter up over there; but, I don't believe that, after these people have done this kind of work, after being duly seated in this convention, that they went downstairs, and when they found out that there was no harmony downstairs, when it is an impossibilist group, I don't believe that now, since they are willing to come up, that they should be allowed to come up here and help us decide these questions that may confront the convention. I am heartily in favor of unseating all delegates that were duly elected and seated at this convention and then immediately proceeded to attend another convention.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The previous question has been called for.

COMRADE KRUSE: Can you call for the previous question by simply hollering "question" at the top of your lungs?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: A motion was made for the previous question.

COMRADE KRUSE: Who made the motion?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: One of the delegates. Go ahead, you have got the floor.

COMRADE KRUSE: I want to move an amendment, and, if it is seconded, I want to speak on it, that we specify a time when such action is suggested in this motion, say, at ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

Seconded.

COMRADE KRUSE: The reason why I make this amendment is because there are a good many comrades who are honestly believing at the present time that they are conscientiously carrying on the work of the Socialist Party by attending the gathering that is held down stairs. Now, whether they are right or wrong, perhaps we can judge, but, after all, our judgment will only be our judgment. I would rather have them be their own judges, and I would rather have a time limit, however, so that we can see where we are at when a certain stage of development is reached. Now, it is a big weapon in our hands, in the hands of us that want to go back to our state membership and say that this was a convention of the Socialist Party, it is a big weapon that we can say, "Here were a number of seats that were vacant at the choice of those who were duty-bound to sit in those seats." I know, as a matter of fact, that one of the delegations on the floor downstairs said, point-blank, that "if such statements as were made at

that time continue to appear to be the expression of the body here," (that is, downstairs) "we will go upstairs."
(Laughter.)

COMRADE STEDMAN: Will you yield for a moment?

COMRADE KRUSE: Yes.

COMRADE STEDMAN: The sense of the motion is that we adjourn until they are ready to come up, or, on a roll-call, we send our secretary down there to complete the canvass. (Applause and laughter.)

COMRADE KRUSE: We have a list of the delegates; some of them here all the time, and some of them not. Some of them are not here for the reason that they are downstairs in the other crowd. At the present time, that is true. But, the fact remains that we should give some lee-way there. This is an unusual situation. They feel that they are justified in the attitude that they take, but I believe that the dead-line should be drawn that they will at least have to make up their minds and determine which side they take. It is simply a question of gag-rule if you attempt to throw them out at this time.

Motion for the previous question put and carried.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: If this motion is carried you have to put in specifically who you wish to exclude as delegates. If you mention the names of the parties, if the motion carries, we will know.

COMRADE WALDMAN: That those who leave this convention and who participate in the convention downstairs be permanently excluded from this convention. Who the individuals are, they will be supplied, one by one, when it comes to deciding.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Do you mean by "participating," speaking or voting upon motions?

COMRADE WALDMAN: Yes.

COMRADE STEDMAN: As distinguished from attendance.

COMRADE WALDMAN: That's right.

COMRADE WALDMAN: We have four or six in our mind.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion is to exclude from the floor for the remainder of this convention delegates who, after they were seated here, went downstairs and participated to the extent of making motions and voting on propositions before that convention. There is an amendment that the time for the taking effect of this resolution shall be on and after ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

The amendment being put to a viva voce vote, the chairman declared that the noes seemed to have it. A division was asked, and the vote was 53 for the amendment and 33 against.

COMRADE BELOOF: I didn't vote at first. I want my vote recorded in the affirmative.

COMRADE BNEAHAN: On a question of personal privilege. May I say two or three words?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: No, not while voting. There has been

too much of that kind of stuff today in this convention. We will never get through. The amendment was carried by a vote of 53 to 33. Therefore, the motion as amended is that the time be extended until ten o'clock.

COMRADE WALDMAN: The motion as amended has not been adopted.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion before the house now is---

COMRADE VICTERSON: Hasn't the motion been adopted?

COMRADE BEARAY: No; the amendment has been adopted.

A COMRADE: The amendment so covers the original motion that the amendment carries the motion.

COMRADE GERBER: No.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: This Chair desires to ask each one of the delegates to act as chairman. I am prepared to give a decision on the point of order, if you furnish me an opportunity. We seem to have all sorts of parliamentarians here, and you are taking up the time of this convention. There is a motion before the house that those delegates who, up until tomorrow morning, participate in the convention down below, tomorrow morning at ten o'clock, by voting and taking part in their proceedings, shall be excluded for the rest of the time in this convention. Those in favor of the motion will manifest by saying "aye." Those not in favor of it, manifest by saying "no." The noes seem to have it. (A division called for.)

The vote stood, on a vote by hand, 40 for and 42 a-

SECRETARY GERBER: The vote is 42 against and 40 for; the motion is lost.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion is lot.

A COMRADE: Where do we stand?

COMRADE LEE: I believe the next order of business now before the house is the report which was yesterday read for the information of the house, and copies passed out of the report of the committee, to investigate contested referendums. I then move, in order that we may have the motion before the house for discussion that Referendum "C" for the election of the National Executive Committee, the International secretary and International delegates, be declared invalid, and that immediately, upon the adoption of the Party constitution by this convention, that the convention proceed to elect a temporary National Executive Committee, the seats of the present National Executive Committee members to be thereby vacated, and that an election of the members of the National Executive Committee, International delegates and International secretary be forthwith held, under the provisions of the constitution.

Seconded.

COMRADE LEE: Upon the report which that committee has brought before us, we have to decide, either that Referendum "C" was of such a character as to be valid, or that it was of such a character as to be invalid. My own convict-

ion, on the facts which are stated in that report, and from all the facts which I know that might supplement that report, is that the election was of such a nature as to be completely invalid; that that necessitates the holding of a new election in order regularly and permanently fill the places of those who have, prior to that, been elected as National Executive Committee, International secretary and International delegates. It has not been possible to hold such a referendum. We should go out of this convention forthwith, and within the time that can be specified in the constitution for holding referendums, and hold a referendum and regularly elect our National Executive Committee, our International secretary and our International delegates. In the meantime, it will be absolutely necessary to have some one conduct the affairs of the Party. Part of my motion which covers that is based on the recommendation which the present National Executive Committee made as long ago as last May.

It was contemplated then and from that time, when this convention met that the present National Executive Committee should go out of office. It is the desire, as I understand, of the National Executive Committee, and I think they are right. It is the right desire to not continue to hold further. It is the proper thing to do, in order that we may have a committee representing the authority of this convention, instead of holding over from a prior election in

consequence of the invalidity of Referendum "C". It is for that reason that I incorporate in my motion the provision that this convention, as soon as it has adopted the Party platform--it might, for instance, change the number of the executive committee--shall then elect a temporary National Executive Committee, to hold office only during the interim, until the regular committee has been elected, and that thereby the office to be vacated. I did not include in this a provision for electing a temporary International secretary and International delegates, because the referendum may take a few weeks, and there is no reason to expect that, within those few weeks, it will be necessary for International delegates to go to Europe, or the International secretary to function. I didn't provide that the convention shall elect a temporary International secretary and delegates. I want it understood by our delegates that my purpose in introducing this motion and in trying to get it before the meeting is that we may have a clear-cut issue before us, either to declare it valid or invalid, the results of Referendum "C". The other action will follow if the referendum is declared invalid. Of course, it is not my intention that we want to vote on this motion as soon as it is presented.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I am confused upon my recollection of the motion, or your motion and your statement. Your motion,

as I understand, didn't contemplate electing this committee after the adoption of the constitution, but your statement I understood to cover that.

COMRADE LEE: That is my motion, that Referendum "C" for the election of the N.E.C., International secretary and delegates be declared invalid, and that immediately, upon the adoption of the Party platform by this convention, that the convention proceed to elect a temporary N.E.C., the seats of the present N.E.C. members to be thereby vacated and that a new election be forthwith held to choose a regular N.E.C., International secretary and delegates under the constitution, to be adopted by this convention.

COMRADE BLOCH: The constitution, to be adopted by this convention, does not become operative until it is ratified by a referendum vote of the entire membership.

COMRADE LEE: In order to meet that condition, I will strike out the closing words of my motion that--

COMRADE GEFBER: I rise to make an amendment to Comrade Lee's motion, and that is as follows: that we declare the election voided, and, on the adoption of the constitution by this convention, that this convention elect a National Executive Committee to serve until the new National Executive Committee can be elected under the provisions of the constitution, as adopted by this convention. It is practically

the same, except that it strikes out the word "temporary." I don't believe that we should have that word "temporary" in connection with it. Our party is a permanent organization. We are not a new body.

COMRADE LEE: I don't think it makes any material difference. I am willing to strike it out.

COMRADE WILSON: For information. I understand Comrade Lee's motion to cover only the matter of electing an executive committee, and declaring the other elections invalid, and to await the election of a new committee until after the constitution that is adopted at this convention is passed upon by referendum. Is that right?

COMRADE LEE: That was not what I contemplated. What it provides is, as it stands now, to choose the regular National Executive Committee and International secretary and delegates, under the constitution. The constitution would not be adopted by the party until after a referendum. That is the sense, as I understand it, of Comrade Gerber's motion, to postpone the election of the National Executive Committee, etc.,

COMRADE GERBER: No.

COMRADE LEE: Until after the new constitution has been adopted by the Party.

COMRADE WILSON: That's my understanding of your motion.

COMRADE GERBER: My amendment is that this convention, after it adopts the constitution, proceed to elect

a National Executive Committee, this executive committee to serve until a committee can be elected under the provisions of the constitution adopted by the convention.

COMRADE LEE: How long is the time necessary? Suppose we adopt a new constitution, and it is failed to be passed upon by referendum?

COMRADE GERBER: It will take at least five or six months' time. That's what it generally takes. It is open for 90 days for voting.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Does the mover accept that amendment?

COMRADE WILSON: Does this motion in any way affect the referendum of the membership on affiliating with the Third International?

COMRADE GERBER: None whatever.

COMRADE LEE: The question of the International affiliation of the American Socialist Party must be decided by this convention, and, if necessary, by a referendum of the Party, and not by the will of the delegates who have or who are to be elected.

COMRADE WILSON: You don't get my idea. There was a referendum of the membership on the Third International. Does this motion invalidate that referendum?

COMRADE LEE: No. This motion does not do it.

A COMRADE: A point of order. This motion is unconstitutional. The constitution provides the method of

electing a National Executive Committee, and if we are not reorganizing a Socialist Party but are acting under the old constitution, then we simply cannot accept any such motion.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I shall rule on the proposition that this convention was called for the purpose of redrafting the principles and the constitution of this Party. I understand that the terms of the old committee expire any way, and it will be necessary for us to elect, even under the constitution.

COMRADE STEEDMAN: Suppose the executive committee all went out. Do you mean to say the convention can organize a temporary committee?

COMRADE GERRER: Yes.

COMRADE BURCHER: I offer an amendment to the motion that none of the present members of the expiring National Executive Committee, nor any of the leaders or those charged with being leaders of the so-called "left wing," shall be eligible to serve on either the National Executive Committee pro tem, or the permanent National Executive Committee.

COMRADE STEEDMAN: I rise to a point of order on that motion. That is not germane. The convention must first decide as to whether it will proceed to elect a committee, and, after that if it so desires, it can fix the qualifi-

cations.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The point is well taken.

COMRADE LULOW: I have an amendment that he wants, that the National secretary be added to the motion.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is no second. A point of order is raised that up to now there is no method provided by which this convention can elect a secretary under the constitution. If it so provides, you can always proceed to elect your National secretary. I rule that the amendment is out of order.

COMRADE BELOOF: Can you keep this bunch still enough so that people like myself, who are not used to great city noises, and who come from the prairie where we don't have anything worse than katydids and cyclones, can hear something.

COMRADE KRUSE: I want to find out by what right you can elect a National Executive Committee temporarily, and you cannot elect a National Executive Secretary temporarily?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I have already informed you that the constitution provides that the term of the National Executive Committee expires with this convention, and that the convention then selects the temporary committee or the committee to act pending the referendum.

COMRADE KRUSE: Will you show me the section of the constitution that shows anything of that kind?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The National Executive Committee made their report. I will be glad to hear their report.

COMRADE STEDMAN: The secretary is elected by the executive committee, and he holds his term of office until an executive committee is elected and removes him, or until you change the constitution by and through which the convention could remove him.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Any body of people have got the inherent right to continue themselves, and, if the National Executive Committee resigns and you accept the resignation by your action of electing another, you have that power.

A COMRADE: A point of order.

COMRADE GERBER: It's all over.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I already ruled. You can appeal from the decision of the Chair, but I can't let you make a speech.

COMRADE BIRCHER: A point of order. I believe that at a past meeting of this convention, we decided that this report will not be acted upon until the contested delegate committee made it's final report. Now, if that is true, I claim that this is all out of order. I believe that action was taken, that we cannot decide on this report, or take it up, until the contested delegate committee made it's final report, and they have not done that as yet.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Will the secretary inform us just what

the action was?

COMRADE GERBER: That was the action. Comrade Bircher was right.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: It appears that the convention already decided that we shall not act on these referendums until after the report of the contest committee is received and completed. Unless you alter that decision, no action can be taken on Comrade Lee's motion.

A COMRADE: I move a reconsideration.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Did you vote in the affirmative?

COMRADE: Yes.

COMRADE BRANSTETTER: I voted in the affirmative, and I move a reconsideration.

COMRADE BRANDT: I believe I understood it correctly, that the committee had made it's report, and then another matter was referred back to it. As far as I understood, the committee made it's report.

(Cries of "Question.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The question is, Shall we reconsider the action of this convention.

Motion to reconsider was carried.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: We shall now have the motion made by Comrade Lee with, I believe, two amendments or one amendment.

COMRADE GOLDBERG: I understand that we shall have to wait until the constitution has been ratified by a re-

ferendum, which he tells us will take about six months. Then this pro tem executive committee will issue a call for nominations and election by referendum, of a new N.E.C., which will take another six months. It will take us a year to elect a duly elected National Executive Committee. I think that is rather very protracted.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The fact is that this convention may adopt a constitution to provide for a referendum tomorrow morning, if we can get there fast enough. It is not settled what form of referendum we are to have. The motion didn't involve any such thing.

COMRADE CHASE: We ought to consider this as much as possible, as it involves some statements about the unfair elections under Referendum "C". I have seen some things that were unfair and that ought not to take place in a referendum. I have seen a good many Socialist referendums in my time. I have seen a good deal of voting in the foreign language federations, and I have seen a good deal of voting that should not be as it ought to be. There is a good deal in this referendum, but it is a peculiar thing that, until the foreign language organizations began to vote a certain way, there wasn't so much kicking about this en bloc voting. It was only when they didn't vote the right way that the en bloc voting became serious. Because that en block voting has existed for

years, and, when they voted right, they were all right, and when they voted left, of course, then those elected got left. Now, there were some things that ought to be, and I believe the referendums were thrown out, where there was a contest, still there has been very little doubt about the complexion of the new National Executive Committee, and that was the reason they were put out, and not for any special reason that they were elected over this en bloc movement. One thing in the report was about the ballots, signed by the members afterwards. But, if a man puts his signature down on a ballot, which has been crossed, I assume that's valid, and he has a right to that ballot, no matter what you want to say about it. And any lawyer will tell you the same thing, when a man puts his signature down on a paper, that lawyer or any one else has filled out, and reads over to him and he knows what it is--and 99 times out of a 100 he doesn't know what it is--that is still valid before the law. And, when he puts his name down upon that ballot, there is nothing in the constitution that says he shall have no right in voting. I believe those ballots were valid. There were several of those conditions of that kind, which, in my opinion, should be counted. With all of these things, I still believe that Referendum "C" could be carried out, and I believe the vast majority of the men

who voted for them are entitled to their seats as the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States of America, and I believe that the reason why this election is declared unfair is because they were not the right kind of men, according to the feelings of the present National Executive Committee. I don't doubt for a moment the position of the National Executive Committee, of what they considered their loyalty to the Socialist movement. I consider that most of them, if not all of them, are sincere when they offered that objection, but they have got to the point where they conceived that they have to come up and take the dictatorship of the Socialist Party in order to save it from the enemies within, as they so call it. I don't believe those tactics are right. I believe that some conclusion could have been come to. I believe that the men who were reported elected, almost without exception, were really the wishes of the comrades of the various states or districts wherein they were elected. I think, if there was anything, what little there was out of the way, or what considerable there was out of the way, I believe that, if those members got in, they will do much less harm to the Socialist Party than will this dictatorship on the part

of a few saviors, who want to bring the Socialist Party where, in their opinion, it ought to go. I hope this motion will be voted down, and I hope that the report on "C" be accepted, and the different districts where those delegates were elected, I hope they will go through. I believe, if it goes through, there is a certain amount of things we should have provided for before. There were a certain amount of elections which should not have gone on, but it has gone on before, and for years it has gone on; and, I believe, if we take that up and seat those men, there will be less wrong, and what the rank and file stands for, than by this surreptitious interjection of the National Executive Committee, by declaring the referendum and ballots void and unseating them. The danger of a referendum, although fraud is used in it, is less than the danger of autocracy of the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE GERBER: After hearing Comrade Chase, of New Hampshire, I am inclined to believe that not only are the delegates in New Hampshire corrupt, but I think even in the Socialist Party it must be so as well. We in New York have a very corrupt Tammany Hall, but, as far as the Socialist Party is concerned, we try to maintain honesty and decency in our elections and in our methods and in every-

thing else. Comrade Chase tells us that, if I fill out a hundred ballots, and if I can find a hundred people who are willing to sign their names, then we must count these ballots and declare the people elected by the hundred ballots. If that is your principle, Comrade Chase, you may belong in the "left wing," but you don't belong in the Socialist Party. I have seen right in the state of New York, in the Cortland Branch, the secretary not satisfied in advising the people how to vote, and who to vote for, which is his right, this local appointed a committee to see that every ballot cast contained the name that Mr. Tadelles advised them to vote for, and, if it wasn't so, that committee was empowered to change that vote. Is that the rank and file? It is one man. If you talk about dictatorship, that was dictatorship. I for one ran away from one dictatorship, and I will not stand for another dictator. You talk about the executive committee setting themselves up as dictators. I say, if this National Executive Committee would not have had the backbone to prevent these tactics in the Socialist Party, then the executive committee should have been taken down and thrown in the Michigan Lake or the Chicago River. I hope you will adopt the motion. If I have a vote, I shall not vote for any member of the present N.E.C. on the new N.E.C., but I must say this, that they have shown some

courage, and it takes courage to face a mob, and they did have that in the Socialist Party for the last few months. I want to say this, that the executive committee has accomplished one thing. They may have had this en bloc voting in New Hampshire. They wouldn't have it anywhere else. And, if it was so in New Hampshire, let's confine it to New Hampshire, and I don't want it to spread into the rest of the Socialist movement throughout the country. I hope that you adopt the motion, if, for no other reason than to establish the fact that the politics in the Socialist Party has got to be honest, has got to be based on principle, and that there is a vote back of every man, that any man or woman has a vote, and that no man can cast a hundred votes or a thousand votes and then have them counted in the Socialist Party. I hope they will throw that election out, and then proceed to elect an executive committee, and elect one that will be as brace as the last one, but a little more efficient, a little more active.

COMRADE BRANDT: As a member of that investigating committee, we out in three complete days in the middle of August, and stayed over on the fourth day--I did--and went down there in the morning. Last Friday night we continued our work, and finished about ten o'clock that evening. I want to say to you delegates that it gave me no pleasure

to sign that report. I feel no honor in signing a statement that must go before the public, acknowledging the fact that we have crooks in our movement. (Applause)

Comrades, whatever you may say about this or think of it, it is serious to me. I have been in the Socialist Party 22 years, since our organization was organized, and never in all that time did I ever see or hear of anything that has any comparison at all to this. I want to see that work, which was done and on which our committee labored four days, go through. We bring in a unanimous report. Our work was hampered, as our report says.

In a vast majority of the places where the work was done, as was charged, the state secretaries absolutely refused to send in the ballots. We have the exhibits here in a valise, which anybody can look at, if they see fit. The report lays before you. Summarized, what is the report, comrades? It is this, in plain language: A group of people, call them by whatever name you see fit--there is only one name, in my opinion, which they should be called by--you can use any name you see fit, but, a crowd of people set out to capture the Socialist Party. They did not care what means they employed to capture the Socialist Party. We have evidence in front of us, and when, before even it came to us, it was exposed by some of their own people, where one branch, mark you--I refer now to your

"left wing" slate, which traveled from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the South to the North, this was no local proposition, this was a general proposition stretching throughout the entire country, in so far as our organization is concerned,--for that slate we had one local put in 330 straight votes. It was so raw that some of the members kicked about it, and, when it finally came to a decision, and the matter was investigated, we found there was but 78 votes cast, and they were split. We could not enumerate all of the things in this report. One of the big things, and one of the damaging things, which we could not or did not bring out was the letter from the state secretary, Conrad Henry, of Indiana, at the outset or at the very beginning of this investigation, or rather of the information cropping out as to this crooked work in the Socialist Party; where he called attention of the National secretary to the work that was going on in the language branches over in Indiana. One branch in particular, I believe, had not bought any due stamps for ten months, about, and still sent in a great big vote. In Massachussetten the state secretary refused to send in any ballots. We took the tabulated votes as sent in by some of the state secretaries. Some of the state secretaries did not send in any tabulated vote, but, in Massachusetts, we took the tabulated vote sent in, and compared it with the translator secretary's vote or record, which

he must make to the National office every month. And, we found there all the Russian branch of about 800 of them voting almost exclusively solidly for this "left wing" slate. We found branches there, by comparing their own translator secretary's report with the state secretary's report, we found branches there with 25 members, casting 117 solid slate votes. Go to the report, or part of our report referring to New Jersey. Go carefully over these two tables, and there you will find this complete slate. In a large number of instances voting more votes than what they actually had members or were buying due stamps for. Comrades, we want to submit that, at times, it may be possible where a small branch may get out a complete vote, but, then, you will agree with us that it is a physical impossibility, it is beyond any reasoning power at all to think for a minute that branch after branch, representing not only hundreds but thousands of votes, could get every one of their members out to vote, and every one of those members to vote for exactly the same candidate. Those are some of the conditions. One of the committee is here who happens not to be a delegate, and I hope that he will have the privilege of closing. But, in conclusion, I want to make this statement: there is nothing personal in it. It is made in all honesty, and I want to make this

closing statement; that any person reading that report, and can stand up and defend that kind of action, has also got to subscribe to crooked work. (Applause)

COMRADE BEARAK: I am also acquainted with sending in reports from branches in Massachusetts, with a solid cast vote. I come from Massachusetts. This is not the first year that the Russian, Lettish and other federation branches, with the exception of the Finnish, Jewish, German and Italian, had sent in packed votes. Chase knows, when he was in Massachusetts, O'neal knows about them, when he was in Massachusetts. And, my co-delegates know when they were on the state executive committee. And, I want to say that a branch in Massachusetts, that hadn't bought any stamps in the Party for nine months, sent in 55 votes on this referendum, being a part of the Lettish federation. We asked, Where are your members? They said, "They are in the branch, and they are going to vote, whether you like it or not." I want to say to you that Russian Branch No. 1 and No. 2 in Boston sent in votes, not according to their membership but according to the figures that the secretary thought he ought to send in. Of course, they didn't dare send in the ballots of the foreign federations to the National office. If they sent in the ballots of the Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Russian and Lettish federations cast in Massachusetts, every one one of those votes, with the

except if one or two branches, would have to be thrown out. I want to say to you that we in Massachusetts have suffered long of this disease. Three times we have tried to check it. It was impossible to get the local secretaries to send in the ballots, although the ballots invariably said that the local secretary shall keep them for 30 days after sending in the total to the state secretary. When we would ask the branch to give us their individual ballots, the secretary would reply invariably, "I destroyed them, because I haven't any room for a lot of papers."

I say to you that it was under the guise of a ruse that the secretary got these foreign branches to cast a big vote in order to carry their point. I am not interested in whether one group was elected, or another group was elected, but Oneal will bear me out that the state secretary of Massachusetts, during his time, when the referendum was declared void by a motion that I made, because it was discovered that the Lettish branch No. 1 voted for members who were living in Alabama, and claimed to be still paying dues in Boston-- I say to you, in honesty and fairness to the Socialist Party, that we ought to declare this referendum void by adopting the motion of Comrade Lee. He, who have gone through it, knows what it means to pack votes and to vote for dead men, for members who are

living in Alabama, in Europe, in Panama, or people on trips for pleasure. I ask you to vote in favor of the motion by Comrade Lee.

COMRADE ORR: I move you that we separate the two questions; that the question of whether to invalidate the election under "C" and the question of how the new election shall be had, shall be separated.

COMRADE LEE: I believe that will simplify the matter. The first point is, whether we shall declare invalid Referendum "C", and the second point is, what we shall do in case we declare it invalid. I want such a separation.

COMRADE PANKEN: A point of information. Is the question before the house at this time whether the action of the N.E.C. is to be upheld by this convention or not?

COMRADE BEARAK: No.

A COMRADE: Declaring it void.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The vote, first, is on avoiding the election, and, second, on the election.

COMRADE WEISS: I believe most of the delegates here, as well as the delegates to the so-called convention downstairs--of course, I don't think it is true of all--are sincerely desirous of working for the good of the Socialist movement. In order to accomplish that thing, in order that we may bring about a condition where personal animosities and the bitterness that has been engendered

on account of this controversy may be removed, I think that the situation should be faced. I am one of those who believe that it is not too late. We all realize that we are faced with unprecedented conditions: The opposition that we will have to meet on the part of organized capital will be almost overwhelming, and, if we continue to quarrel among ourselves, absolutely nothing will be accomplished. It is more than likely true that fraud has been committed in these elections. It is also true that there is doubtless in the minds of a good many a question as to whether all the actions of the National Executive Committee have been correct. I, therefore, think that the thing for us to do is to consider the situation. Elect a new committee, and I would amend that motion and have it provide that neither the members of the old executive committee nor the members of the so-called, self-styled "left wing" shall be eligible to serve on this committee. I believe that it is the sentiment of most of us who are sincerely in favor of it.

COMRADE BERLYN: A point of order. The question before the house is to establish the validity of the invalidity of Referendum "C".

CHAIRMAN HOAN: You can raise that after the vote.

COMRADE WEISS: This was so intimately linked with the question that I considered it entirely relevant to the question.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The Chair will have to rule against you.

A COMRADE: What is the motion.

COMRADE GERBER: The motion before the house, by dividing the question, is that Referendum "C" be set aside, and for the election of the National Executive Committee, International secretary and International delegates be declared invalid.

COMRADE WEISS: Having declared that invalid, it will necessarily mean that a new committee will have to be elected.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Very well. We will permit you to talk about it, but not at the present time. The only question is, Shall we invalidate this election.

COMRADE WEISS: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

(Cries of "no.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is nothing to appeal from. The convention has decided to separate these questions.

COMRADE HENRY: With reference to some voting in Indiana that appeared to be irregular, I desire to say something. Now, from the returns from some of the branches in the northern section of Indiana, I cannot see anything else except that there was some crooked work. For instance, there was one branch that I chartered last March. Immediately after I chartered the branch, there was six members.

I got money to the extent of six members from the federation. I got that money, and got this one little amount of dues, of \$1.54. I heard nothing more from the branch until the referendum was ready to go out. I sent these comrades the ballots. They immediately asked for more ballots than what I had sent, although I had sent plenty of ballots, I thought, for the number of members that they had, because I sent more ballots than what they had members, when they were chartered. But, behold! when the ballots came in, -I didn't know where they got all the ballots--they had more ballots than I sent, but they sent 56 straight ballots for the slate. I am not here going to say that those comrades deliberately themselves got together and voted for 56, for more members than what they had. I am satisfied in my mind that some one else was present when the 56 votes were fixed up. Another branch in Gary, Ind., a Russian branch that had, I believe, as many members as they voted. They sent in 76 straight votes for the slate, and that is a pretty hard thing to do, in my experience in referendums. So, when the National secretary asked where it appeared that that vote was cast en bloc, we asked the comrade to send their individual ballots. This branch sent their individual ballots in, and you will find in the report of the individual ballots tabulated by this committee, the vote also reported

by the branch in the report to the state office, you will find they did not vote altogether en bloc. A number of votes were cast for Hillquit that were tabulated for O'Hare; a number of votes cast for other candidates and not for the slate. That is not the only case. There is a number of cases in Lake county. On the day I received the referendum ballot from the National secretary, I also received three letters from branch secretaries asking that I send them the ballots. Some one must have informed them to hurry up and get those ballots, and I then sent the ballots out on the same day I got them from the National secretary. I sent them ballots, and even more than I was satisfied they had members, according to the report. They all asked for more ballots. I sent some more, and still in one case they didn't have quite enough ballots, and they sent in the votes on paper, and one man signed all of them, and they thought I would swallow that stuff. I want to say, again, that I don't believe that the comrades themselves maliciously did that. I don't believe they understood that game. I think some one else was back of it.

Let me say, in connection with the branch that cast 76 ballots so-called, they were not straight ballots.

There was only three hand-writes on all the ballots.

One was by a light blue ink; the other was dark ink; and

one was lead pencil. Three men must have sit down around the

table and just simply signed all the names they could find on any old book, and sent them in and said, "Here, Henry, count the votes." (Laughter) There was two or three branches that voted all their ballots for me. I don't know whether anybody had anything to do with that or not, but they did. All their ballots were for me. Now, they have felt that I was a pretty good fellow, and that I ought to be on the National Executive Committee, and did the same thing. But, I don't approve of that kind of referendum. If the National constitution says we are going to have a referendum, and it says that you have to have individual ballots, and the ballots say at the top, "individual ballot referendum," I say that the comrades should mark their own ballots, and judge for himself and sign his own ballot, and that's all there ought to be cast. I am sick and tired of this so-called referendum business, and then we can't have a fair count in it. In this case, there is not one of the comrades, whether he is a comrade downstairs or up here, but what will admit--those that I heard talk about the matter--and they have got to admit that the referendum was a bunk affair, to say the least. Any one who wants to count such a referendum as that, with the vote as you have seen it,--if you are in favor of saying that referendum is all right, in the face of that evidence, then, Good

night, you don't belong in the Socialist Party.

COMRADE BELOOF: I have been secretary for Kansas nearly three years. I have never had an occasion at all to suspect fraud in Kansas until at this time. I mention this because it is not included in this report. Last September, your organizer in Kansas City, Mo., wrote me that there was a little local of Russian comrades that had moved over, most of them, into the Kansas side, and liked me to give them a charter. He said there was about a dozen of them, and told me where to send the charter. I did. Sometime later I had a report from them, and there was 12 or 15 names included in that report. I received from September, when I chartered them, up to the time of their suspension, \$18.75 in dues. The highest vote they ever cast was 46. On that referendum relating to the National Conference, you remember. And, they sent me the ballots for that. On this election for the National Executive Committee they cast 115 votes for the slate. (Laughter) Now, that looked funny to me. I am a great pacificator, and I didn't want to raise any trouble. I didn't know it had gone on anywheres else, and I sent it on to headquarters. Later Comrade Katterfeld came to my office and told me of the terrible doings of the National

Executive Committee, and I said, "See here. Maybe there was fraud. I will tell you there was something suspicious happening up in Kansas City, Kan." And, that was the first that I mentioned it to anybody. Later I wrote twice to the secretary, asking him as courteously as I could for the original ballots, although he did send me the original ballots in the first place, and I had no reply from him. Because I mentioned that fact Katterfeld wrote an article and sent it to the Ohio Socialist and everywhere else, and said I was peeved because the Russians didn't vote with me. Now, did it change the result? I don't know about your large states. I can't tell. But, the thing is proportionally larger there. Did it change the result?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Confine yourself to the question before the house.

(Cries of "She is talking to the question.")

COMRADE BELOOF: Now, Katterfeld said, "Why didn't you go up there to investigate?" In the first place, I didn't have the money to spare. And, in the next place, my letters would not be answered. He said he went and investigated and they had 161 members. I see that the report here gives that local in Kansas City an average for the four months of 104 members. I submit to you, was it a bona fide membership? In September I chartered them, and they said they had about a dozen. I don't know just how

much later, but some time later they sent me a report with not more than 10 or 12 names. They never voted more than 46 on any ballot. Was that a bona fide membership? We have in Kansas a number of what we call large locals of 60 farmers, which makes a pretty good sized local, and we have a number of them, and they never did vote en block, because 60 farmers in Kansas have a mind of their own. They never vote en bloc. I protest, in the name of the comrades who have built up what little movement we have in Kansas, against that election being taken as the expression of the will of the Socialist movement in Kansas. It was not an expression of the Socialists of Kansas.

COMRADE COHEN, of Washington, D.C.: I have heard a good deal about the block voting, and the interpretation invariably was that it was fraudulent. Let me tell you how Washington, D.C., had voted--not all of Washington but how some of the comrades of Washington had voted. We were generally discontented all over. There began to be a feeling among the Socialists that there must be a revision of the platform, principles and ideas. We began to ask ourselves, Who are the men that can carry out a new revolutionary program? Some expressions were heard like this: "We have every reason to have confidence in the men who have been in the movement." But, they said, It is

time we got acquainted, and, of course, a great many of the comrades, not knowing who the leaders were or the men were who could take up the cudgel in behalf of the laborer, began to ask each other, Whom shall we vote for? Without any fraudulent purpose, without any desire to elect any one that could serve any but our own purpose, several of us got together and looked over the ballot and said, For whom shall we vote? And, consequently, a number of us have voted alike. It so happens that there are no factions at Washington, D.C. Consequently, our vote was not contested, but it could be said that a number of us voted en bloc, but not at all for fraudulent purposes. So, I think you comrades, who are considering voting en bloc and having a fraudulent purpose, are mistaken. We have to consider that it is on its merits. In all the discussions that have been going on ever since we have convened, we have forgotten this, that it is for the cause. We must remember that the world is aflame, that the time for action and not for speaking has come. I have absolutely nothing against any one in particular, except that I am a Russian, and I am for the Russian revolution, and I am wondering whether this is not the time for action.

(Cries of "Question.")

A COMRADE: I move the previous question.

COMRADE ASVELI: I am on the committee, and I would like to say something.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Very well. The committee has right to bring this matter to a close.

COMRADE ASVELI: Now, some of the comrades have blamed these foreign federation comrades. I want to say that it is not fair. If you know the way the foreign federations and foreign comrades vote, you would not say they are all crooked.

COMRADE KRUSE: Nobody said it.

COMRADE ASVELI: Now, slate-making and voting en bloc has been the practice in the Socialist Party before, and it was all right then. Let me tell you one instance. You recall the election sometime ago when some of the comrades said that Comrade Berger was not revolutionary, and they were trying to recall him. We, in the Finnish Federation, thought that he was "Johnny on the spot," and that he should stay in the National Executive Committee, and we prepared a slate and were for Berger, and he got his seat. When there was an election of the National secretary, Germer and Thompson were the candidates. We thought that we would have to choose from the two. So, we picked out Germer. We said that he had more practical experience. So, we selected Germer, and we prepared a slate and we were for Germer, and it passed, of course; nobody kicked.

COMRADE BERGER: Did you cast more votes than you had members?

COMRADE ASVELI: No. In the last presidential election, when we were voting on a presidential candidate, we voted against Benson and were in favor of Mann. We prepared a slate. Slate-making is not a crime against our Party law.

COMRADE BERGER: But, dishonest voting is.

COMRADE ASVELI: You can't show me anything in the constitution which will make it a crime. Tell me where it ceases to be a virtue and becomes a crime. There are crooks, but I don't believe the entire expelled membership is crooked and dishonest. In the last year, if you remember the situation in our Party, you will tolerate more the action of these comrades. Our mail was continually held up. The National office could not reach the membership. We could not get our message to our comrades. Our bulletins were held up. The membership didn't have any way of functioning. The membership demanded a convention. The National Executive Committee didn't call the convention. They demanded it strongly, but the N.E.C. didn't see fit to call the convention. What could the comrades do? They thought the situation in the world had changed so much, that our tactics must change correspondingly, in order to follow the times. Of course, we have this "left wing" group, and they went to the extreme, I

admit. I am in favor of casting this referendum aside. I think this referendum has shown us conclusively the foolishness of electing our Party officials by referendum.

COMRADE GEMBER: Correct.

COMRADE BRANDT: A point of information. Comrade Branstetter is the secretary. He was selected to make the report for the committee, and I believe, under the motion.

(Cries of "No" and "Question.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The Chair will rule that the committee has been heard from twice, and we have all the information here. The question is whether the referendum shall be declared null and void.

Motion carried, followed by loud and prolonged applause.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The other part of the motion is that, upon the completion of the constitution, we shall proceed to elect a National Executive Committee, and that subsequently a new National Executive Committee shall be elected according to the provisions of the new constitution.

COMRADE BAUSCH: Point of order.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: We will have the motion read. Immediately upon the adoption of the Party constitution by the

convention, the convention proceed to elect a National Executive Committee, the seats of the National Executive Committee being vacated, and that a referendum be thenceforth held for the election of a National Executive Committee, an International secretary and International delegates, under the constitution.

COMRADE DOUSEN: I wish to present to the convention a statement, in behalf of the delegation from California.

COMRADE WILSON: I move that the rules be suspended, and that the delegate be permitted to speak.

Seconded.

COMRADE STEINMAN: I am going to oppose that motion, for this reason? I think, if there is any possible chance to select a committee on constitution, and on platform, it should be done tonight. If you can get that done, they can go to work tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The delegates all really have been seated, and they can be recognised to make any statement they want. There is a motion before the house to suspend the rules and give this comrade the right to speak.

COMRADE STEINMAN: You can't suspend the rules, pending a motion. You had a motion, which was divided. The first you have acted on, and the second remains before the convention for disposition.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The point is well taken.

COMRADE BAUSCH: This convention already took action on the election. It necessarily follows that all actions that were taken in regard to that election shall necessarily follow before any other separate action is taken, and I hold that, before completing this proposition and going into an entirely new proposition, you have to decide whether the action of the N.E.C. in expelling the federations as a membership was right or wrong.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The Chair rules that this convention voted to take up the motion of Comrade Lee, and then we divided the question, and your point of order is not well taken. There is an amendment to that motion, which I have not stated. There is an amendment to the motion. It is amended that, after the adoption of the constitution, the convention elect a National Executive Committee to serve until a National Executive Committee can be elected under the provisions of the constitution. I can't see any distinction, or why this amendment changed the original motion.

COMRADE LEE: If I understand the amendment offered by Comrade Gerber, there is a distinction, and, while I am always glad to accept amendments to my motions when I can, and to take suggestions from Gerber when I can, I think the motion to amend should go to the house to decide. My motion reads that that committee be elected, and that a

a referendum be thenceforth held--that means right away--for the election of a National Executive Committee, and International secretary and delegates, under the constitution. That means, after the adjournment of this convention. That is, in a few days, sending out the ballots, etc. Now, that would be held, if I am not mistaken, under the present constitution of the party, because we may adopt a constitution here or change the constitution. Anything that we adopt in the way of a constitution will not go into effect until after it has been confirmed by referendum. So, under my motion, immediately after the adjournment of this convention, we will proceed to the regular election under the existing constitution of the N.E.C., and International secretary and delegates. When the new constitution, and the only constitution, is put into effect, if the provisions are different--suppose it will provide for the time of election, which may be in December or January or maybe in March, but at any rate it can't be very soon. Under Gerber's amendment, he wishes to avoid an election, and then another election. But, in order to do that, his amendment provides that this committee elected under the constitution shall hold office until an election can be held under the new constitution. Am I right on that? Now, as I understand, that means, in the first place, a delay of three months, in which locals may propose amend-

ments to the proposals of the convention. And, after that, three months sending out ballots, and the time for voting and counting the votes. It would mean a matter of about five months, and possibly six, after the adjournment before we could begin the election under the provisions of Gerber's motion. Now, if the situation was the ordinary one, to arbitrarily hold over for five or six months in order to avoid having one election and another election a few months afterwards, I think they would likely switch and put in a National administration for a much longer period than we need to do, and perpetuate it longer than necessary. For that reason, I didn't accept his amendment, and I hope that the original motion will be passed.

COMRADE SMITH, of California: I rise to a point of order. For three days we have been held off of this floor. I believe that this convention should adjourn it's business until California has been heard.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The point of order is not well taken--

COMRADE SMITH: You bet it is not well taken. I see that very clearly.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is a motion before the house, and another motion cannot be heard.

COMRADE CORBEL: Does the Chairman understand that the California delegation has been seated in this convention?

COMRADE SMITH: We have been held off the floor for three days.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Wait until you are called to the floor, Mr. Smith. We will proceed with the business.

COMRADE WEISS: You said you would give him the floor on this proposition.

COMRADE GERBER: There is a difference between my amendment and his motion. I want to avoid in the election of a new executive committee that what happened in the last election, and which was set aside today, and that is why I made that amendment. Comrade Lee seems worried that the committee that we will elect at this convention will serve five months. What will you do? We have to have an executive committee, if it takes five months. My amendment takes the same thing as Comrade Lee's proposition, that this convention elect an executive committee to serve until we can elect a new executive committee, under the provisions of the new constitution. I agree with Comrade Askeli that our machinery in the Party is not adequate for doing the work, and we ought to provide different machinery for it. The rank and file is sick and tired of referendums. You will have a referendum within two or three weeks after the adjournment of this convention to elect a National Executive Committee, and, before that executive committee gets its feet warm in the office, and before they know what they are going to do, a new election for a new executive committee is to be held, and that new

executive committee has to take office at the day of election. That is exactly the thing that kills our movement. You want to elect an executive committee at this convention that knows it is going to serve for a certain definite period, and that it is their business to run the party.

COMRADE STEDMAN: May I ask a question?

COMRADE GERBER: When I get through. It will be the business of that committee to organize the Party, to see that we get the consent of the Party to build up our organization in various states and do everything necessary to rebuild the Party, because it is very much broken down at the present time,,and you can only do it when the executive committee will know what it's business is, and not one just for two months. . They have to serve for at least six months to make preparations for the committee that will follow, and it can't be done by a committee that goes intoday and walks out the next. They don't care what their successors are going to do. Any committee elected for two months has no responsibility.

COMRADE STEDMAN: If the motion is carried as proposed, you elect after the adoption of the new constitution, do you not?

COMRADE GERBER: Yes.

COMRADE STEDMAN: After the adoption by this convention of a new constitution, you elect a committee then.

COMRADE GERBER: Yes.

COMRADE STEDMAN: As contemplated by your motion.

COMRADE GERBER: By this convention. That's my amendment. I agree with Comrade Lee on that.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Don't you think, then, that the question as to what that committee should do should be disposed of after you adopt the constitution? I ask that for this reason: This convention may decide--we don't know--that the executive committee should be elected out of various districts by the convention, in which it would be a different proposition entirely? Don't you think your amendment should remain until you have a report and either reject or accept the new constitution?

COMRADE GERBER: No. The moment you adopt Lee's motion, you provide immediately after the adjournment of this convention that you issue a call and elect a new National Executive Committee, under the present constitution. If you defeat this motion, I am satisfied, but, as long as that is taken up, I want my amendment.

COMRADE PANZEN: I desire to offer an amendment to the amendment, it being as follows: that, immediately after this convention adopts the constitution, we proceed to elect a temporary National Executive Committee.

Seconded.

COMRADE LEE: If Comrade Gerber will accept this, I will

accent it, because the point is--

COMRADE GERBER: I accent it.

(Cries of "Question.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is one question before us: that, immediately upon the adoption of the Party constitution by this convention, the convention proceed to elect a National Executive Committee, the seats of the National Executive Committee to be vacated. Is that correct?

COMRADE PANKEN: No.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: That's all there is to that motion.

COMRADE PANKEN: I think the motion should read as follows: immediately upon the adoption of the constitution by this convention, as it may be amended, we proceed to the election of a National Executive Committee. That necessarily vacates the seats of the National Executive Committee.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: You have heard the question.

(Cries of "Question." Also, cries for "California.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The Chair will recognize this gentleman, without any objection on the part of the house.

COMRADE DOLSEN: Comrades, I make this statement in behalf of the six members of the California delegation, who were denied, as I understand, until today the right to be heard in this assembly, representing or purporting to represent the socialists of the United States:

"We, the delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party, duly elected by the membership of California, present to the delegates of the convention the following statement relative to our status and action in the present Party crisis.

"1. Each of us at the recent state referendum received an overwhelming majority of the votes cast, over and above those received by the candidates who contested our election by letter.

"2. This majority of votes was based upon the count from the uncontested locals of the state.

"3. The allegations upon which ex-National Secretary Germer instituted a so-called 'contest' against our seating were utterly without basis of proof and immaterial.

"4. We were ejected from the convention floor by the police at the orders of Mr. Germer, in spite of our regular election and the fact that no delegates appeared to contest our seats.

"5. We were crowded off into the ante-room where we could not hear the proceedings of the convention and where many of us had to stand for hours while packed delegations from other states occupied the convention floor.

"6. The hearing on the contest developed into an inquisition on matters irrelevant to the issue. The next morning the delegation was haled before the inquisitors

again without notice to its chosen spokesman of the previous evening.

"7. The contest committee refused yesterday afternoon to announce it's hearing in our case despite the fact evident to all at the hearing that there were absolutely no grounds on which we could be fairly excluded. This action debarred us from participation in the first two days of the convention, although we had each come over 2000 miles to attend it.

"8. The contest committee at this morning's session recommended that we be not seated, thus arbitrarily depriving the 2000 Socialist Party members of California from a voice in the deliberations.

"9. We were finally granted our seats over the adverse action of the committee because the delegates to the convention finally showed a waking up to the despotic procedure steam-rollered by the officialism of the convention.

"10. The delegates from California, having caucused together, have unanimously agreed:

"a. That they will not take their seats in the convention until all duly elected delegates have been seated.

"b. Nor until the packed delegations from the so-called reorganized states shall have been reduced to a represen-

tation of the actual membership which they in fact represent.

"c. Nor until the convention ceases to act under the guardianship of the Chicago Police Department.

"d. That unless the convention takes the above action before transacting other business, the delegates from California, representing the overwhelming sentiment of their constituents, do join with the delegates refused seats and the comrades of the expelled and suspended federations and states in the immediate formation of a real revolutionary Socialist Party in the United States,-- the Communist Party of America; and we urge all comrades having the good of the working class of the United States and the world at heart to at once leave this reactionary convention and repair to the floor below to help us organize the proletariat of America for the final victory over capitalism."

(Signed)	Max Bedacht	Irene Smith
	James Dolsen	John A. Taylor
	Edric B. Smith	Kaspar Bauer

COMRADE STEDMAN: I want to make the following motion: that this statement or communication be X'd, that it be tabled, and we proceed to business.

Seconded and carried.

COMRADE PANTEN: We are not ready to report, because we

thought that the matter before the house was of such importance for us to be here.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I move that the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending the seven federations be not concurred in by this convention, and condemned.

Seconded.

COMRADE BEARAK: Point of order.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Until the report of the executive committee--

COMRADE WILSON: The matter that is only in order is as to the report of the executive committee.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The point of order is well taken.

COMRADE BEARAK: I move you now that we proceed to hear the report of the National Executive Committee.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Comrade Germer, are you ready to report on the fraternal delegate from Germany?

COMRADE GERMER: Yes.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: Is that the proper order of business?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Yes. The delegate is seeking the floor now.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: Can we revert to a different order of business?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: It is our first duty to pass upon those who are admitted to the floor.

COMRADE GERMER: "This is to certify that Comrade Ludwig Lore was regularly elected as our delegate to the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, to be held at Chicago on August 30, 1919.

National Committee of the German Federation
Socialist Party.

L. Lore, Sec'y."

COMRADE COOK: I move that Comrade Ludwig Lore be seated as the fraternal delegate from the German language federation, and, in so doing, I regret the fact that he is not now a member of the Party; that, if he had offered a credential as representing any sub-division of the Party, we would have opposed his admission, and that we make this motion solely because the failure to seat him at this time would deprive the German federation of a voice in this convention. We recognize that the procedure is irregular, but we hope that the convention will recognize the peculiar situation, and unanimously adopt our proposal.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE BEARAK: I move that we now proceed to take up the report of the National Executive Committee, or hear the report.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE GERBER: Here is a message from Comrade Tillotson, in answer to our message:

Pittsburg, Pa., Sept. 1, 1919.

National Convention
Socialist Party
Chicago, Ill.

Message received. Best wishes for a united party, and speedy solution of problems before you.

R. W. Tillotson.

COMRADE ONEAL: I will state that my relation to the business of the National Executive Committee has been different from that of any other member, in this respect: That, although my name appeared on the ballot as a candidate in the recent election for reelection, it appeared there by mistake, due to a misunderstanding on the part of Comrade Germer. I think I can speak more freely because of the fact that I was in reality not a candidate, and had no intention or desire to be reelected. I can speak more frankly upon the matters, perhaps, involved in this report than on other matters that come before the convention. That is, I can speak without being subjected to the suspicion, at least, that I happen to be one of seven beurocrats who desires to establish himself as a dictator within the Socialist Party.

The report is as follows:

COMRADE ONEAL: My attention has been called to the fact that, by some error, Comrade Richard Hare's name has been left out, among the number of others that are very well known. Of course, there are some 2000 comrades that are in prison, and certain names have become lost.

On motion, it was moved that this name be added.

COMRADE KRAFT: I recommend some change in the third paragraph on page 2. We made some changes last night, and due to some misunderstanding and on account of interlineations, that paragraph is all jumbled up. Then, on page 3, next to the last paragraph, I would like to have the name of the delegate inserted there. It mentions one delegate, but the name I would like to see, as a matter of history.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: It is up to the committee.

COMRADE BATTISTONI: I see on page 5, the last paragraph, the report should be corrected, to state which of the language federations demanded that it be, because I know that the Italian federation did not do so, and many other federations. So, I think it is the duty of the executive committee to arrange this accordingly, and mention the federations that have done so.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Is there any objection to that? If not, the committee will so distinctly state.

COMRADE ONEAL: Suppose we insert the word "suspended."

COMRADE LEE: I suppose some time before long there will

be a motion to adjourn. Before that motion comes before the house, I would like to make a motion. Our rules provide that, after today, no resolutions can be introduced without unanimous consent. It is hoped that we will get our committees elected tonight, and go to work, and I move that the rules be so far amended as to provide that resolutions may be received without unanimous consent up to and during the fourth day of the convention, and that is tomorrow.

Seconded.

COMRADE BEARAK: I move to amend it to read until Wednesday noon.

Seconded.

COMRADE LEE: I will accept that.

Motion carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: The committee on contests is ready to report.

Your committee has further considered the case on the contest of Fred Harwood, from New Jersey, and find the following facts: 1. That he did interfere with the sale of convention stamps and party due stamps by reason of his action as a member of the alleged and self-styled National Executive Committee. 2. That he did participate in the setting up of a dual National Executive Committee National headquarters and National convention headquarters.

3. That he did so under a misapprehension, and that he had been, in the state executive committee of New Jersey, informed by Goebel of the National Executive Committee that the convention might not be held on account of a lack of funds. Further, that he now recognises that this convention is the supreme authority to pass on all matters in controversy, and that he is perfectly willing to abide by the majority opinion of this convention. (Applause) And, in this respect his attitude is entirely different from that of Comrades Katterfeld and Lloyd. (Applause) While we have nothing but censure for his unwise conduct, and while we do not endorse or condone anything that Comrade Harwood has done in participating in the activities of the alleged National Executive Committee, we believe, however, that, because of the misapprehension under which he acted, he should be seated as a delegate to this convention. (Applause)

COMRADE BLOCK: I move the previous question on the recommendation of the committee.

Seconded.

Motion for previous question carried.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion is that he be seated in this convention.

Carried.

COMRADE BANYEN: I move that the report of the committee be

adopted as a whole, and the committee discharged.

Seconded.

Motion carried.

COMRADE WEISS: What about Ohio and New York? What is the committee going to do about those?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion is carried, and the committee discharged.

COMRADE BEARAY: I move that we adjourn now until 7.30.

COMRADE GERMER: I have two blanks that I have been asked to distribute among the delegates, for the purpose of the record. One is for the financial record, and the other is for statistical purposes. We are often asked as to the make-up of conventions; the nationality, occupations, etc., and I am directed by the committee to distribute these blanks, and ask the delegates to give this information so that it can be compiled for the information of any member that may ask for it later on.

COMRADE BERGER: Also, whether they are citizens.

COMRADE GERMER: The blank reads:

"After every convention we receive numerous inquiries regarding its make-up. For the purpose of our records, please give us the desired information:

Name	Street Address	City	State.
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In what country are you born?

If not in the United States, are you a citizen?

What is your occupation?

Do you belong to a union? If so, name it."

COMRADE BAUSCH: I believe that this convention ought not to tolerate the circulation of this document. I believe I come here knowing that I was representing the rank and file of the Socialist movement of New Jersey. Whether any crowd believes that they can use a successful argument that this is not a working class convention, represented by proletarians of the movement, I say we should tell them to go to hell. We know what we are, and we know what we stand for. I say that we should not play into their hands by recognizing our weakness by concurring in any document of this kind.

COMRADE CERMER: I think Comrade Bausch misunderstands the purpose of this entirely. We had some record of this in the St. Louis convention. It was incomplete. We have tried to get a complete record. And, I am not afraid nor ashamed to tell my nationality, neither my occupation. It is a valuable document, and valuable information to have for our members on many occasions. It has been so in the past, and it may be so in the future. We have nothing to conceal.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I was a delegate to the St. Louis convention, and I never heard of any document like this.

COMRADE CERMER: I can take you to the National office.

and show you we have a record of 137 delegates out of our total delegation, giving the country in which they were born and their occupation. In fact, the National constitution requires that that information be given.

COMRADE BLOCK: What Comrade Germer is seeking for the National office is nothing more than the information that is in the possession of every local office when an application for membership is made to the Party.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The Chair will not entertain any more discussion. The sergeant-at-arms will hand the documents as we pass out. There is a motion made to adjourn until 7.30.

A COMRADE: I move that we adjourn until tomorrow morning at ten o'clock.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Those in favor of adjourning until 7.30---

COMRADE BERGER: I want to make it eight o'clock.

Motion to adjourn until 8.00 o'clock this evening carried, it now being 6.00 o'clock.

Monday, Sept. 1st, 1919.

8.00 o'clock, P.M.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Hoan.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I think, by the expedition of business, we could proceed this evening to nominate and elect the members of the various committees, and it will be less fatiguing and less exhausting than taking up, perhaps, one or two of the reports. For that reason, I wish to make the motion that we proceed to nominate and elect a committee on platform and constitution and finance, as far as we can go, in a reasonable length of time.

Seconded.

Motion carried.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The first order is the election of a committee on constitution.

The following comrades were nominated to serve on the committee on constitution:

Comrades Wilson, of Pennsylvania; Jones, of New Jersey; Edlin, of Connecticut; Karlin, of New York; Gerber, of New York; Noona, of New York; Brandt, of Missouri; Marcus, of Massachusetts; Beloof, of Kansas; Doerfler, of Wisconsin; Kruse, of Illinois; Tennyson, of Arkansas; Haller, of Maryland; Shadid, of Oklahoma; Wilson, of Illinois; Germer, of Illinois; Cohen, of Washington, D.C.; Rubenstein, of Michigan; Salutsky, of New York; Annalla, of Massachusetts.

On motion made, the nominations were closed.

The following comrades declined the nominations:

Comrades Karlin, Kruse, Tennyson, Haller, Salutsky, Germer and Annalla.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: I want to know by what authority and in whose behalf the typewritten sheet with a slate of the membership for every committee to be elected is being distributed right here? This was handed to me by a delegate. I wish to know it for the reason that, in the course of the proceedings this forenoon and this afternoon, in speaking on the foreign federations, one of the most important things discussed was the question of just such a slate of delegates.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Who handed it to you?

COMRADE SALUTSKY: Comrade Germer.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Did you ask him?

COMRADE SALUTSKY: I am asking the chairman, is this a part of the business?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: No, it is not!

COMRADE SALUTSKY: I would like the chair to announce that no part of the convention or any constituted part of this convention has had anything to do with this slate business. We condemned the slate business very definitely in the course of our discussion this afternoon.

A COMRADE: A point of order. There is nothing before the house.

COMRADE KRUSE: I want to ask one question: whether it

is a fact that the National office stenographers were used in the typewriting of that slate that was handed out.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: A point of order.

COMRADE BLOCK: I want to know whether the Jewish federation ever heard of slates in the Jewish federation.

A COMRADE: I move that this slate be read to the delegates.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I object. Hand it to the delegates, and let them read it themselves.

COMRADE ONEAL: I protest, because I am included in the slate. May I withdraw from that?

A COMRADE: I would like the delegates to repudiate every name on this slate.

COMRADE BERGER: Point of order. Let's vote.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There are 13 names, and you will vote for 11. I will appoint Comrades Coleman, of Wisconsin, Solomon, , of New York, and Haydon, of Pennsylvania, as tellers.

COMRADE SHIBLACOFF: Does the rule passed yesterday that we sign our name on the outside of the ballots count tonight?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Sign your ballot anywhere, but sign them.

COMRADE BERGER: Sign them on the back.

COMRADE BLOCK: We have several committees to elect. I think we ought to make provision on these ballots so that we may write down the names of all the committees, and vote for those one after another, and then let the tellers go out

and count them. Otherwise, you will be here until I don't know when on this question of electing members of committees.

COMRADE BERGER: That can all be done tonight. When the chairman said you can sign them wherever you pleased, you will mix all the signatures with the names of the candidates. I suggest that the names be signed on the back of the ballots.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: All in favor of signing them on the back of these ballots, will so manifest by saying "aye."

Motion carried.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: See that you do it, or your ballot will be thrown out.

COMRADE WEISS: I move that the slate as proposed by the committee be unanimously selected, because they will be elected anyway.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Is there any objection to the reading of a telegram which the delegate desires to send?

COMRADE TRACTENBERG: I have the following telegram to be sent to L. A. Martens, representative of the Russian Soviet Government:

"The Socialist Party of America in National emergency convention assembled sends you fraternal greetings and wishes you success in your endeavors to establish friendly relations between the peoples of the United States and Soviet Russia of which you are an accredited representative. We may assure

you that the Socialist Party will do all in its power to rally the support of the American workers to the aid of the proletarian republic which is an inspiration to the Socialist movement of the world.

Socialist Party of America."

COMRADE TRACTENBERG: I move that we send the telegram.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE VANESSEN: I move that any ballot that does not contain the vote for 11 be cast out.

(Cries of "no.")

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Every delegate has a right to vote for less than 11, if he so desires.

COMRADE MALKIEL: In regard to this slate, I happened to be at the meeting when the matter was discussed, and I think I can clear the whole matter up. I would like to be heard on this matter of the slate.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I will declare the ballots closed. One of the comrades wants the floor with reference to the slate. What is the pleasure of this convention?

COMRADE WALDMAN: I move that she be granted the floor.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE LEE: When the comrade over here first raised the question, I tried to get the floor. The question was asked, who was responsible for sending lists of names yesterday for nomination and election to the committees to be made. I

want to say that I was about one person responsible. I estimate that there was about a hundred persons who attended an open meeting at which various questions of the convention were openly discussed. I don't know of any one who wasn't there, or who have been present in some of the meetings.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Persons or delegates?

COMRADE LEE: Delegates. I suppose every delegate in this convention, if he ever attended any convention, state, National or any other convention in the Party, but what he has participated in such a thing. I would say it was the height of folly if, whenever we have a convention, we should think we will not go into it as an organized body, that we should not think and thing together, and think in such groups as we can, and in as large groups as we can, and exchange ideas and come as far as we can to a plan of action. You will understand that no delegate surrenders his right of independent judgment. If I thought, as an individual member of the convention, when the time came that such a decision was one that would be injurious to the interests of the Party, I would by no means consider myself bound. I suppose that is the attitude of every sincere and genuine socialist. On the other hand, I by no means think, that we can come into our seats and act absolutely and individually upon the spur of the moment, when the occasion arises. For my own part, and I

think I can speak for several of you who were there, I haven't any apology to make at all.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The convention permitted us to let one delegate here speak.

COMRADE STEDMAN: A point of order. There is no motion. I think we ought to proceed with the election.

COMRADE WEISS: I move that the entire slate suggested by the committee be elected, because they will be elected anyway,

COMRADE STEDMAN: I second the motion, and I think it might save time.

COMRADE KRUSE: I want to speak on that motion.

COMRADE PANKEN: I rise to a point of order. The motion reads that this convention proceed to the election of the list of delegates appearing on some slip presented by the committee. There is no such committee nominated or designated or authorized by this convention. Hence, this motion is out of order. I want a ruling on that.

A COMRADE: It was intended as a joke, wasn't it?

COMRADE WEISS: My motion isn't a joke. I make this motion in all seriousness.

COMRADE PANKEN: I make my point of order in all seriousness.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I will rule the motion out of order.

COMRADE KRUSE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The next order of business before this convention is the election of a committee on resolutions and party principles. There are 15 members to be elected, and nominations are now in order.

COMRADE KRUSE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

COMRADE WALDMAN: Had there not been anything on the paper distributed of some 70 delegates, I might not have said anything in making the nomination I am going to make.

COMRADE GOEBEL: Will New York sit down and allow us to nominate our committees?

COMRADE WALDMAN: I want to make a nomination, and, in view of the statement, I feel that if that nomination is to meet with any success, I must say a few words on him before placing his name. I am not going to enter into a controversy about the slate. Suffice it to say, the slate is not official. It does not come from any official committee, but that a private group of comrades got together and decided upon it. Whether it is right or wrong, it is up to all of you to decide. There was a certain in this convention when a slate was absolutely necessary, if the convention was to be saved for the Socialist Party; just as at this time I feel that a slate is absolutely unnecessary and inimical to the interests of the Socialist Party of America. Let's make individual protests as individual delegates. I place in nomination the name of a comrade who is competent to prepare

resolutions on international relations, and who knows international and national problems of Socialism. I nominate Comrade Salutsky, of New York.

Other nominations on the Committee on Resolutions, Party Principles and Pan-American and International Affairs were as follows:

Comrades Berger, of Wisconsin; Panken, of New York; Engdahl, of Illinois; Lee, of New York; Berenberg, of New York; Cohen, of Pennsylvania; Hoehn, of Missouri; Neistadt, of Maryland; Plunkett, of Connecticut; Block, of New York; Roewer, of Massachusetts; Henry, of Indiana; Hoan, of Wisconsin; Moore, of Oklahoma; Oneal, of New York; Stedman, of Illinois; Kruse, of Illinois; Glassberg, of New York; Weiss, of New Jersey; Trachtenberg, of New York.

On motion, the nominations were closed.

COMRADE SEHL: A point of information. I understand no delegate is allowed to serve on more than one committee.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: One standing committee, and the committee on contests has been ruled not to be a standing committee.

COMRADE SEHL: These are standing committees. We have just nominated 13 on that first committee. If you proceed with the nomination and election of all these committees, there are three on the first that will not have a chance, in case they are defeated, of being nominated or elected on any other

committee.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The rule says that, if he is elected on two, he must decide which to go on. I will appoint as tellers in this case--

COMRADE ORR: Appoint the same tellers for all of these committees. If you appoint three tellers for each committee, eventually the entire body will be out as tellers.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The comrade is out of order. I appoint as tellers for this ballot Cook, of New York, Brown, of Indiana and Wilson, of Illinois.

The following comrades declined the nomination: Comrades Salutsky and Weiss.

COMRADE SHEAHAN: There is 20 names on the list. There is likely to be four sub-divisions of the committee. I move that we place in nomination and elect the 20 members, and allow four or five for each sub-division.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The rules provide for 15 members. You can't set it aside.

COMRADE PANKEN: I then move to suspend the rules.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: It is in order to amend the rules.

COMRADE GERBER: He said to suspend the rules.

COMRADE STEDMAN: You can change the order by suspension, but

you can never change the context.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: It was ruled by the Chair yesterday that the rules of this convention adopted could always be amended. It may take two-thirds vote.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Any rule of procedure, you may; but, this is not a rule of procedure. This is a rule which designates the number of a committee. You will have to reconsider it or table it.

COMRADE BEARAK: I move that we reconsider it.

COMRADE KARLIN: You can't reconsider while on actual business.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The point is well taken. Proceed to ballot.

COMRADE WILSON: I think you should announce again that they should sign their names on the back of the ballots.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Sign your names on the back, or they will not be counted.

COMRADE WEISS: I am not a candidate.

A COMRADE: It's too late.

COMRADE WEISS: I protest. I announced at the time that I declined.

The convention proceeded to ballot.

COMRADE BATTISTONI: I have a telegram that I ask to be sent to the Socialist Party in Italy:

QThe Socialist Party of the United States in National

Convention assembled sends you greetings and wishes to manifest its earnest appreciation of your noble stand against the world war and against the junkerdom of Italy."

COMRADE KARLIN: I move that it be referred to the resolutions committee for revision.

It was moved and carried that the secretary send the telegram.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The next committee is the one on finance, consisting of 11 members.

The following comrades were nominated:

McCarthy, of Connecticut; Annalla, of Massachusetts; DeSombre, of Wisconsin; Sanders, of New York; Robinson, of New York; Chase, of New Hampshire; Young, of Pennsylvania; Howe, of Illinois; Victerson, of Massachusetts; Schlegel, of Pennsylvania; Wilson of Illinois; Bausch, of New Jersey; Stauber, of Oklahoma..

On motion, the nominations were closed.

The following comrades declined the nomination:

Comrades Victerson and Bausch.

COMRADE WEISS: Howe is on the slate. He is all right.

COMRADE HEARAK: Is Howe here?

COMRADE STEDMAN: Howe is out having charge of the labor day picnic. That's why he is not here.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Will the lady from Pennsylvania please stop

talking. If you want to make a speech, come on up here, but stop making a nuisance.

A COMRADE: She is not from Pennsylvania.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: As tellers, I will appoint the three comrades from Minnesota, Wells, Friedman and Hoffman.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: There only being 11, I move that they stand as the committee.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The motion is made that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the convention for the 11.

Carried.

A COMRADE: Is the Minnesota delegation allowed to take part in the nominations?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: No; but, if there is no objection, all right, go ahead. The next is the committee on economic organization, 11 members.

The following comrades were nominated:

Shiplacoff, of New York; Coleman, of Wisconsin; Sehl, of Pennsylvania; Bircher, of New Jersey; Beckerman, of New York; Malkiel, of New York; Cohen, of Washington, D.C.; Haller, of New Jersey; Stumpf, of Pennsylvania; Glassberg, of New York; Dennis, of New York; Kruse, of Illinois; Davidow, of Michigan; Goldberg, of Massachusetts; Quinlan, of New Jersey; Jensen, of Wisconsin; Waldman, of New York; Bartos, of Oklahoma;

Bausch, of New Jersey; Friedman, of Minnesota; Victerson, of Massachusetts; Selleman, of Pennsylvania; Lafin, of Illinois.

COMRADE KRUSE: How can the man from Minnesota act upon the committee, when he hasn't a vote in the house?

COMRADE GERMER: He has got a voice.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I rule that this convention has a right to place any delegate from Minnesota on that committee, if it so desires. He has a voice but no vote. If you elect the comrade from Minnesota, he will serve on that committee.

COMRADE KRUSE: Has he a vote in the committee?

COMRADE FRIEDMAN: Minnesota is confronted with a very serious proposition on economic organization, and that is the reason that wish to be placed on there, so that I can go before the committee. It is very serious over in that section of the country.

The following comrades declined the nominations:

Comrades Bircher (who left for home), Cohen, of D.C., Glassberg, Waldman and Bausch.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I will appoint as tellers Comrades Wells, Hoffman and Hanson, of Minnesota.

The convention proceeded to ballot.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The next is the committee on press and publicity.

The following comrades were placed in nomination:

Salutsky, of New York; Wood, of New York; Ameringer, of

Wisconsin; Solomon, of New York; Claessens, of New York.

On motion, the nominations were closed.

Comrades Salutsky and Claessens.

On motion, the remaining three were to remain as the committee.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The last committee is the committee on propaganda and organization, 11 members.

The following comrades were placed in nomination:

Bearak, of Massachusetts; Smith, of Oklahoma; Melms, of Wisconsin; Claessens, of New York; Braunstein, of New York; Sheahan, of New York; Battistoni, of New York; Lulow, of New York; Haydon, of Pennsylvania; Jones, of New Jersey; Cook, of New York; Weiss, of New Jersey; Bausch, of New Jersey; Hanson, of Minnesota; Brown, of Indiana; Noonan, of New York; Martin, of Indiana; Crawford, of Pennsylvania; Peck, of Pennsylvania.

The following comrades declined the nominations:

Battistoni, Claessens, Bausch, Weiss, Noonan and Crawford.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I will appoint as tellers Beckerman, Claessens and Goldberg.

The convention proceeded to ballot.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I move that we adjourn until tomorrow morning at ten o'clock.

COMRADE BLOCK: I want to move that we send the following

telegram to one who was our candidate for vice-president in 1892, and our candidate for president in 1896, Charles H. Matchett, now living in Boston, and now very, very ill:

"The Socialist Party in National Convention assembled at Chicago sends to you, once our standard bearer in a presidential election and always a loyal Socialist, our fraternal greetings and our earnest wish that you will soon recover good health."

On motion, the same was ordered sent.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I trust that the comrades will leave those slips handed to them today at the door, and those who haven't secured them will get a copy.

COMRADE STEDMAN: I want to move that we adjourn until ten o'clock tomorrow morning, at which time the tellers will be able to report.

COMRADE BRANDT: I want to ask the delegate who made that motion to hold it for just a minute. I desire to offer a motion now that 30 minutes after this convention convenes tomorrow morning the roll-call be taken and all of those delegates who have participated or are participating in the other convention be dropped from our roll.

Seconded. Carried.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: One committee is ready to report.

COMRADE SOLOMON: This is the report of the tellers on the committee on constitution. The vote was as follows:

Wilson, 93; Jones, 89; Rubenstein, 47; Edlin, 78; Gerber, 81; Noonan, 77; Shadid, 84; Wilson, of Illinois; 65; Brandy, 89; Marcus, 79; Beloof, 88; Doerfler, 66; Cohen, of D.C., 69.

The committee is as follows, and in the order:

Wilson, of Pennsylvania, Jones, of New Jersey; Brandt, of Missouri; Beloof, of Kansas Shadid, of Oklahoma; Gerber, of New York; Marcus, of Massachusetts; Edlin, of Connecticut; Noona, of New York; Cohen, of D.C.; Doerfler, of Wisconsin.

CHAIRMAN: HOAN: You heard the report of the committee. Shall the report of the committee be accepted?

Report adopted.

On motion, duly seconded, the convention adjourned until tomorrow morning at ten o'clock, it now being 10.00 o'clock, P.M.

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FOURTH DAY.

Tuesday, September 2, 1919.

10.00 o'clock, A.M.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Hoan.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The first thing in order is the reading of the minutes, according to your rules. If you care to dispense with the reading of the minutes, a motion is in order.

COMRADE PANKEN: I move that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

Seconded, Carried.

The following telegrams were received and read:

New York City. Sept. 1, 1919.

Delegation of Local N.Y.
Socialist Convention.
Chicago, Ill.

Greetings from Circle 7 Yipsels to the Local New York delegation. Hope that you will act to put the Yipsel movement on a more solid foundation.

Yours for the Yipsel Movement.

M. Novik, Org.

New York City, N.Y.

Socialist Party Convention.

Hearty congratulations. We hope

that a strong and fighting Socialist Party will emerge from your deliberations.

Jewish Branch S P Eighth A.D.

S. Leibowitz, Org. 

New York City.

Socialist Party Convention.

Circle 7 Yipsel of Manhattan sends you its fraternal greetings. We sincerely hope that the convention will once again unite the party into a firm faithful and revolutionary organization. May your deliberations be of the highest.

Yours for the Yipsel Movement.

M. Novik, Org.

Saranac Lake, N.Y.
Sept. 1, 1919.

Convention of the Socialist Party.

My comrades I am touched and cheered beyond expression by your inspiring message of comradeship and wish I could be with you. In this dawning era of proletarian world revolution a Socialist convention is of deeper historic value than all ephemeral peace conferences of the capitalistic government. The emergency convention of 1919 will give a powerful impulse to the Socialist movement of America, and leave behind it a reinvigorated party

solid in the self-denying devotion of its members, strong in its uncompromising adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and invincible in the firm conviction in the early triumph of our great cause. Good cheer and loving greetings, comrades.

Morris Hillquit.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Our worthy secretary has lost his voice, and desires to have you to select some one to take his place. He has been elected and accepted a position on the constitution committee also, and desires to take part in their deliberations.

The following comrades were nominated to act as secretary:

Glassberg, of New York; Orr, of New York; Hoehn, of Missouri (but is on a committee, and name withdrawn); Bausch, of New Jersey; Engdahl, of Illinois (but is on a committee, and name withdrawn); Wilson, of Illinois .

The following declined:

Comrades Glassberg, Orr, Bausch and Wilson.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: Suppose some of the names are placed on committees? Wouldn't it be wise to wait until the tellers' reports on the election of the various committees is in, so that we may eliminate those who are on a committee?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is no motion before the house.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: I move so.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE WELLS: I should like to report on the committee on economic organization.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: I shall call them in their order. We will first hear from the tellers' on the committee on resolutions and party principles.

COMRADE COOK: We met and counted. There were 96 ballots cast. I will call the names the names receiving the highest vote, and give the vote as we go down:

Henry, 83; Lee, 81; Stedman, 80; Cohen, of Pennsylvania, 79; Engdahl, 77; Roewer, 72; Plunkett, 71; Hoehn, 69; Neistadt, 69; Berger, 69; Moore, 67; Block, 65; Berenberg, 62; Panken, 59; Hoan, 45; Kruse, 44; Oneal, 40; Weiss, 39; Trachtenberg, 29; Glassberg, 22; Rubenstein, 17.

There was a scattering vote. Salutsky, 2; Brown, 1; Quinlan, 1; Wilson, 1.

The elections are as follows: You remember there was only to be not more than three on the committee from any one state. Therefore, Banken, having the least vote of the four candidates from New York, he is not on the committee, and the committee stands, so far as the committee is able to report, as follows:

Henry, Lee, Stedman, Cohen, Engdahl, Roewer, Plunkett, Hoehn,

Neistadt, Berger, Moore, Block, Berenberg, Hoan and Kruse.

CHAIRMAN HOAN I have before me credential for the alternate, certifying that David Siegel, of 698 Read St., Pittsburgh, organizer Jewish Federation, has been duly elected as alternate delegate to the Socialist Convention, to be seated in the place of Comrade Van Essen.

On motion, he was seated.

COMRADE WELLS: The tellers on the vote on the committee on economic organization reports as follows:

There were 93 ballots cast. Shiplacoff, 84; Sehl, 72; Beckerman, 66; Coleman, 65; Stumpf, 65; Jensen, 59; Victerson, 57; Quinlan, 57; Malkiel, 55; Friedman, 52; Bartos, 48; Kruse, 35; Selleman, 27; Waller, 21; Lafin, 21; Dennis, 18; Cohen, 16; Davidow, 13; Goldberg, 12; Bircher, 5.

Those elected were; Shiplacoff, Sehl, Beckerman, Coleman, Stumpf, Jensen, Victerson, Quinlan, Malkiel, Friedman and Bartos.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Unless there is objection, the report of this committee is received, and those announced declared elected as the committee on economic organization.

COMRADE CLAESSENS: The report on the committee on propaganda and organization is as follows:

The following delegates were elected: Nearak, 59; Smith, 66;

Melms, 61; Sheahan, 60; Waydon, 61; Cook, 69; Peck, 51; Brown, 58; Martin, 53; Braunstein, 39; Jones, 47.

Those are the 11 highest. Then, Lulow, 33; Hanson, 35; Owen, 9; Pausch, 8; Weiss, 1; Askeli, 1; Noonan, 2; Battistoni, 2; Claessens, 2; Marcus, 1.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Unless there is objection, the report will be accepted. The rule provides that no man can serve on two standing committees. If any one has been elected to two standing committees, they must announce on which committee they wish to serve.

COMRADE JONES: I prefer to serve on the organization committee, and resign on the constitution committee.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Unless there is objection, the man receiving the next highest vote will serve.

Comrade Wilson, of Illinois, received the next highest vote, and was therefore declared elected to serve on the committee on constitution.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Comrade Oneal cannot serve on the constitution committee, if he is a New York delegate. There are already three.

COMRADE BEARAK: Is there any rule regarding that?

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Yes. The next highest man is Braunstein. He will take his place on the constitution committee.

COMRADE BEARAK: I understand there is a comrade here from

Tennessee. I understand they haven't 150 members in the state, but that the charter has never been withdrawn from the state organization. Comrade Brown has traveled fourteen hours to come here, and would like to be seated. I move you that he be recognised as a delegate to this convention, representing the state of Tennessee.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: The Chair will understand this motion to mean that Comrade Brown, being the secretary, will come here and fill out his credential before being seated. Those in favor of accepting him when that is filed, will so manifest.

Carried.

COMRADE BLOCK: Comrade Gerber hasn't much speech left. He has something to say. I suggest that he repeat it to the chairman, and the chairman repeat it to the convention.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: He simply wants to make sure that the credential is filled out according to procedure. I informed the secretary that the motion we passed was the acceptance of this man as a delegate under condition that he filled out his credential. Nominations are now in order for secretary.

Comrade Bixler of Pennsylvania was nominated, but declined.

Comrade Glassberg was again placed in nomination; also, Comrade Davidow, of Michigan.

A vote being taken, Glassberg received 43 votes and Davidow received 28 votes.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: It is now 30 minutes after this convention has convened. A motion last night was passed that at this moment the roll-call shall be had to account for the absentee delegates, and those who are not accounted for shall be dropped from the roll and excluded.

CHAIRMAN HOAN I will ask Comrade Germer to call the roll. He has a good voice.

COMRADE BEARAK: You must have an assistant secretary. I was going to suggest Davidow.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: You are out of order.

ROLL CALL.

Arkansas-	Mrs. Fannie Crowell:	Went home.
"	W. W. Tennyson:	Present.
Colorado	Fred Underhill	
"	H. Interman	
Connecticut	Harry L. Edlin	Present
"	John P. McCarthy	"
"	Charles T. Peach	Gone home
"	Martin F. Plunkett	Present
Delaware	Beatrice M. Sedgwick	Down-stairs (left wing)
District of Columbia	Mrs E.S. Cohen	Present
Illinois	Robert H. Howe	"
"	N. Juel Christensen	

COMRADE WILSON: He has resigned, and is not present.

Illinois	Seymour Stedman	Present
"	Oliver C. Wilson	"
"	John Louis Engdahl	"
"	Andrew Lafin	

COMRADE WILSON: He is absent, but will be back. Comrade Askeli is acting in his place.

Illinois	Chas. Krumbein
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COMRADE WILSON: He is downstairs.

Illinois	Aldolph Germer	Present
"	Karl F. M. Sandberg	Downstairs
"	Wm. E. Kruse	Present
"	F. W. Wenschoff	"

Illinois	L. K. England	Downstairs
"	W. G. Hammond	Present
"	C. J. Brown, M.D.	Downstairs
"	Perry H. Shipman	
"	O. Alfred Olson	Downstairs
"	Edgar Owens	Downstairs
"	Am. Lugge	Downstairs
"	Wm. Stoffels	Never attended
"	Dan Slinger	" "
"	Ross D. Brown	Present
Indiana	George A. Cameron	Downstairs
"	Morris W. Friedman	"
"	Wm. H. Henry	Present
"	Lilith Martin	"
"	Joseph Zimmerman	Downstairs
Iowa	C. A. Morrow	Gone home
"	Geo. J. Beck	Present
Kansas	Ida A. Beloof	"
"	Gertrude Harman	Downstairs
Kentucky	Emil Von Allmen	"
"	E. B. Austin, Jr.	"
Maine	Wm. W. Myer	Never in attendance
Maryland	Frederick Haller	Present
"	Samuel M. Neistadt	"
Massachusetts	George Makela	"

Massachusetts	Harry S. Victerson	Present
"	Jacob Goldberg	"
"	Lewis Victor	"
"	Peter Kastoff	"
"	Victor Annalla	"
"	Joseph Bearak	"
"	Abraham Boxer	"
"	Louis Marcus	"
"	George E. Roewer, Jr.	"
Michigan	Nestor Anderson	Was not in attendance
"	C. C. Taylor	Present
"	Lazarus Davidow	"
"	I. Finkelstein	"
"	T. H. Coxe	Did not attend.
"	A. Rubenstein	Present
Missouri	E. J. Wilcox	

COMRADE BRANDT: Wilcox took part in our convention the first two days, but yesterday went downstairs and came up again, and we told him that he could not take part in two conventions, so he left the city last evening. You have a credential in there for the next highest alternate, who is here and I suggest that he be seated, Caleb Lipscomb.

On motion, Comrade Lipscomb was seated.

Missouri	Jacob Kasener	Present
"	G. A. Hoehn	"
"	Wm. Brandt	"

Montana	A. H. Floaten	Present
New Hampshire	Francis T. Butler	"
"	Fred B. Chase	"
New Jersey	Frederick Krafft	"
"	Valentine Bausch	"
"	Patrick L. Guinlan	"
"	Milo C. Jones	"
"	Rose Weiss	"
"	Louis F. Wolff	Downstairs
"	Henry Petzilt	"
"	Stephen Bircher	Gone home

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: I suggest that Comrade Harwood be seated instead of Comrade Bircher.

COMRADE ONEAL: I talked with Comrade Harwood, and I am trying to induce him to come into the convention this morning. He said he was dissatisfied with the convention, and he was going back to New Jersey and straighten out his books and get out of the socialist movement.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: I suggest Comrade Goebel be seated as a delegate from New Jersey.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I hope this convention will not seat Goebel as a delegate from that state. We would rather do without any delegate in the place of Harwood. If you want

to unseat the membership of New Jersey, you seat Goebel as a delegate today.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I am getting tired of listening to this business.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: Comrade Goebel retires. He does not care to have this position.

(Cries of "no.")

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: You are out of order.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: You gave me the floor.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: You are out of order.

New York	Abraham Beckerman	Present
"	David P. Berenberg	"
"	S. John Block	"
"	August Claessens	"
"	Walter M. Cook	"
"	J. W. Dennis	"

New York	Max Lulow	Present
"	Julius Gerber	"
"	Benjamin Glassberg	"
"	Alex Braunstein	"
"	Wilho Hedman	"
"	William karlin	"
"	A. Trachtenberg	" (occupying Matilda Lee's seat)
"	Algernon Lee	Present
"	Anita C. Block	"

(An alternate, and occupied a seat for one or two days,
but yielded to Comrade Lulow, who arrived.)

"	Bertha H. Mailly	Present
"	Teresa Malkiel	"
"	Charles W. Noonan	"
"	James Oneal	"
"	Samuel Orr	"
"	Jacob Panken	"
"	Dr. Wilhelmus B. Robinson	"
"	A. G. Breckenridge	"
"	Charles H. Roth	"
"	J.B. Salutsky	"
"	Fred Sander	"
"	James C. Sheahan	"
"	A. I. Shiplacoff	"
"	Charles Solomon	"

New York	Jas. Battistoni (In place of Jos. Collumb)	Present
"	Louis Waldman	"
"	H. D. Wilcox	"
Oklahoma	J. E. Bartos	"
"	M. Shadid	"
"	E. L. Moore	"
"	P. S. Nagle	"
"	Clara Smith	"
"	Olive Stauber	"
Pennsylvania	J. Auerbach	"
"	Cora M. Bixler	"
"	Joseph E. Cohen	"
"	Oliver G. Crawford	"
"	James Downs	"
"	William Euler	"
"	Edward W. Haydon	"
"	John G. Means	"
"	Henry W. Schlegel	"
"	Charles Sehl	"
"	Charles Selleman	"
"	J. Henry Stumpf	"
"	David Seigel	"
	(Seated in place of Comrade Wm. J. VanSsen, who went home)	
"	Birch Wilson	Present
"	William J. Wright	"

Pennsylvania	Elmer H. Young	Present
Rhode Island	J.M. Coldwell	Downstairs
"	James P. Reid	"
Texas	D. H. Lauderdale	"
West Virginia	J. H. Snider	Present
Wisconsin	Oscar Ameringer	"
"	Victor L. Berger	"
"	William Colmman	Went home, but will be back
"	John Doerfler, Jr.	Present
"	Martin Georgensen	Not present
"	Daniel W. Hoan	Present
"	John P. Jensen	"
"	Herman F. Marth	"
"	Edmund T. Melms	"
"	John H. Sims	Absent, but will be back
"	W. L. DeSombre	Present
Wyoming	D. A. Hastings	Did not attend
Oregon	H. T. lbert	Downstairs

COMRADE GERMER: I was told by one of the Oregon delegation that three of the delegates were downstairs.

Oregon	V. Sollit	Downstairs
"	H. S. Warren	"
"	L. Moilinin	"

Nebraska	J. E. Rutledge	Downstairs
"	C. C. Mickey	Present
Utah	R. E. Richardson	Downstairs
"	E. F. Hyde	"
Minnesota	Chas. S. Wells	Present
"	Andrew Hansen	"
"	T. E. Latimer	Had to go home
"	Geo. Hoffman	Present
"	S. Friedman	"
"	H. L. Vramerman	"
German Federation	Ludwig Lore	

COMRADE PANKEN: I saw Comrade Lore this morning. He said he would not take his seat, that he was leaving the German federation unrepresented.

COMRADE BEARAV: I move that the German federation be notified of the action of Lore in this convention.

Seconded. Carried.

Italian Federation	John LaDuca	Present
Finnish Federation	Y. H. Halonen	"
Bohemian Federation	Charles Volarik	"
Scandinavian Federation	N. F. Holm	Downstairs

COMRADE: I am convinced that there is a mistake about the Scandinavian Federation. Christensen, who is secretary translator of the federation happened to be one of the dele-

gates from Illinois, and he went down as a delegate from Illinois, and not as a representative of his federation. I would like to get that clear. I dont know whether Holm went downstairs also, but I would like for the convention to be clear on that question.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: If there is any doubt, the secretary wont strike off the name, but, where it is announced definitely he will strike them off.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move the same procedure be done with the German case that is being done with the Scandinavian case.

COMRADE: The Scandinavian representative went downstairs.

COMRADE GOWBEL: He went as an Illinois delegate.

Jewish Federation	J. Mill	Present
Slovak Federation	Chas. Korenich	"

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The secretary will now read the names of those who were reported downstairs, so, that corrections can be made.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: Nominations for chairman of the day are now in order.

The following comrades were nominated:

Comrades Panken, Stedman, Bausch, Roewer and Engdahl.

On motion, the nominations closed.

Comrades Stedman, Bausch and Engdahl declined.

COMRADE PANKEN: I will withdraw in favor of Comrade Roewer, if he wants to act as chairman.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: We will take the two. There is two nominations.

COMRADE BERGER: He can decline, but he can't decline in favor of anybody.

CHAIRMAN HOAN: There is only one nominee, Comrade Roewer, of Massachusetts.

Comrade Roewer was declared elected as chairman of the day.

COMRADE STEDMAN: May I have the floor on a question of personal privilege?

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: There is nothing before the house except the election of a vice-chairman of the day.

The following comrades were nominated as vice-chairman of the day:

Comrades Panken, Henry, Kruse, Bausch, Shiplacoff, Brandt, Wright, Beloof and Howe.

Comrades Panken, Kruse, Bausch, Shiplacoff and Brandt declined.

A vote being taken, the result was as follows: Henry, 51; Beloof, 20; Wright, 9; Howe, 3. Comrade Henry was declared elected as vice-chairman.

COMRADE STEDMAN: A day or two ago, while the rules were under consideration, Comrade Engdahl moved that, as part of these rules, one should be inserted providing for the nomination of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. I opposed that motion at that time. After that affair took place, I telegraphed Theodore Debs at Terra Haute, Ind., and in my telegram I stated, "I opposed nomination of 'Gene for president. I believe it would not be of benefit to him, but such course should be left for future action. What is your opinion? Can you speak for 'Gene?" He answered, "Am in agreement with your advice regarding 'Gene's nomination. Theodore Debs."

Some few days ago Theodore Debs was in Chicago. He called at my office. Shortly after that I learned, which I think has become public, that Mr. Debs was to go to Atlanta, and from Atlanta to Washington. I mention that because I think it is pretty generally known. I read the report signed by Comrades Fraley and Sharks, and the local attorney in Atlanta. I think most of you have had that called to your attention. I saw it in the paper, with their signatures. There was a statement in there by Comrade Debs. They asked him to sign a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, asking for

his release based upon the transferring and removing of Debs Moundville to Atlanta. It is true, as Sharks stated, under the statute you only have the right to remove a man because of health or infectious diseases, or because, in the opinion of the Department of Justice, the place where he is confined is not a safe place for keeping him. And, I don't doubt, as he says, that he has correspondence showing that he was removed for other motives than those which I have stated. I am inclined to think that Comrade Debs showed good judgment, under the circumstances, in not signing the petition. Perhaps Sharks had more confidence in the courts and the judges following the law than I have. But, however that may be, a petition of that kind would have justified putting in a large amount of evidence. I realize that under the conditions, the writ of habeas corpus could be dragged along for a year or more, if necessary, and the Government authorities would be justified in saying, "We will not pardon him or take any action while it is in the hands of the court, following our general procedure that, when a matter is pending in court, we will not act upon it until the court has disposed of the matter." I did not, however, make any suggestion to Comrade Debs as to the course he should pursue. I knew that Comrade Sharks and the Ohio comrade had the matter in hand, and preferred to leave it to their discretion and his. Now, I realize that in our convention it is possible

for us to adopt a platform which would be regarded not in any sense as a retraction of our platform adopted in St. Louis, but, at the same time, possibly emphasizing a situation which would antagonize the administration--you notice I consciously leave out the word "government"--and under a situation of that kind, they might regard it as a challenge. In view of a telegram from New York, suggesting such nomination, and in view of the sentiments of the members, I have had in mind a motion which was handed to me by Comrade Wilson. I have changed the text of it a little, but I am going to submit it for consideration. I don't know that it should be acted on immediately. Perhaps we ought to think it over a day. Comrade Nebs is a very old man, and is not in the best of health. I am not one who believes that we should select him at this moment as a candidate if, in doing that, it would lengthen his time in prison for one week. (Applause) I know the threat has been made that they would nominate him downstairs, but I am not inclined to play politics with a man's life. (Applause) I am going to offer the motion, however, and I think perhaps that we should not be hasty in acting upon it, but think it over until tomorrow, and then make up our minds as to what is the best course to pursue for the Party and for him. This is the suggestion:

"Where, It is the desire of the Socialists of the United

States and the delegates of this convention to nominate Comrade Eugene V. Debs for our presidential candidate; therefore,

Be it resolved, that the National Executive Committee elected by this convention immediately communicate with Comrade Debs and tender hi, the nomination of this convention for president of the United States in the presidential election of 1920; that he be furnished with a copy or copies of the platform and program adopted, and, in case of his acceptance of the proffer of this convention, it be immediately submitted to a referendum of the membership for endorsement."

Now, I am offering that, and I suggest that it be seconded and held over, and then I want to have the members think of the proposition as presented.

COMRADE PANKEN: I second that motion.

CHAIRMAN REWER: The Chair will rule that there is nothing before the house at the present time except action on the report of the executive committee, and the Chair adopts the suggestion of the mover of the motion, and would recommend that he renew that motion at tomorrow morning's session.

COMRADE BEARAK: I suggest that this be sent to the committee on resolutions to be discussed, and probably changed and then reported to this convention.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The mover has judgment, and can submit

it to any committee that he sees fit.

COMRADE BERGER: I want to ask Stedman a question. will you kindly turn this res lution in today, so that it will be handed over to the committee on resolutions?

COMRADE STEDMAN: I will give it to the committee on resolutions immediately.

COMRADE KRAFFT: As a former resident of Atlanta, Ga., I could assure you that the prison rules will not allow Comrade Debs to answer that letter.

COMRADE STEDMAN: You can go there in person and speak to him as an attorney and get an answer.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The Chair rules that there is nothing before the house except action on the report of the National Executive Committee. What is your pleasure?

COMRADE DAVIDOW: I rise to a point of personal privilege.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: During the last two days, I have observed that there was about a dozen or fifteen meetings going on in this room at the same time, and conversations galore were carried on. As far as I am concerned, there will be only one meeting in this hall, whether you like it or not.

COMRADE DAVIDOW: On this matter, I wish to present or ask this convention to pass a motion that this telegram, which I will read, be sent to Morris Sugar, of Detroit, who at the present time is in the house of correction for having done

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his bit for Socialism. He was an attorney in Detroit, and, as a result of his activities, he was not only sent to jail but was disbarred.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: Any objection?

(Cries of "no objection.")

COMRADE DAVIDOW: They call it house of correction, but that is a misnomer. The telegram is as follows:

"The Socialist Party of America in convention assembled extends its warmest greetings to you in appreciation of your work for Socialism.

Socialist Party of America."

COMRADE SHEAHAN: Is there any use of wasting our money in sending these telegrams? Would they be delivered?

COMRADE DAVIDOW: This one will be delivered.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The report of the National Executive Committee is before the house.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I believe the first thing to do is to receive the report, and then to make motions or resolutions on the questions that come up. I move that we receive the report.

Seconded.

COMRADE KRUSE: On the question of receiving the report, I am opposed to the convention receiving the report in its present form. It is a very interesting report, very well written report upon the points it covers; but, upon many of

the points that this convention is most interested in, the report says absolutely nothing. I ask that the N.E.C. be asked or requested to submit an additional part of this report on some of the following subjects:

1. On the suspension of the language federations without trial.
2. On expelling whole state organizations from the Socialist Party.
3. On outlawing referendums after the same have been submitted for seconds, and after an overwhelming and sufficient number of seconds were received.
4. On the personally bringing contests or hunting contests in the seating of delegates here.
5. On reorganizing state organizations on a percentage basis, so that large delegations could be brought into the convention absolutely misrepresenting the great mass of the constituency that they were supposed to represent.
6. For their extreme activity in tying up this convention to save the Socialist Party from communism.

I would ask that the executive committee report on these things before the report be received.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The Chair will rule that the amendment of Comrade Kruse, of Illinois, is not exactly germane to this question. It should come under a motion on instructions from this convention for a specific report on the specific

subjects that he mentioned, and not as an amendment to receiving this report.

COMRADE ONEAL: Do you rule this particular matter presented by Comrade Kruse out of order?

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: At this particular time, on this motion to receive.

COMRADE KRUSE: Will it be in order immediately after the receiving of the report?

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: Yes. We can ask for further information. The only motion before the house is to receive the report, and open it for action.

COMRADE SALUTSKY: A point of information. Isn't it the common practice that, upon the motion to receive the report, the floor is open for the discussion on the merits of the case?

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: If the motion is carried.

Motion to receive the report was carried.

COMRADE HECKERMAN: I move, on the proposition that Comrade Kruse suggested, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to give a further report on the question of the suspension of the foreign federations, the reorganization of states and the claim of referendums being held up. On those questions, I would move that the National Executive Committee submit a further report.

Seconded.

COMRADE ONEAL: I am sure that the executive committee has no objections to making a further report, but we acted on the assumption that, considering the fact that in the actions that we have taken we had already reported the reasons for taking them and that the actions and the reasons were reported to the entire membership at large, that there was no necessity for duplicating those reports. However, if the convention desires it, we can do so, and perhaps we can formulate it in a more systematic way, so as to be able to more intelligently act upon it.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: There appears to be no objection from a member of the committee.

COMRADE BERGER: The reasons for the action of the National Executive Committee are as plentiful as huckleberries in summer. If Kruse doesn't get enough reasons, we can furnish a good many more.

COMRADE LADUCA: There has been a charge made by Comrade Kruse that this convention was, to some extent, packed by the N.E.C. The motion does not cover that specific case of the charge made by Kruse. I would like to see that included in the motion. I don't know whether the convention has been packed or not, but, if it is, I want to know it, and I believe the other membership here wants to know it.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: I understand that Comrade Beckerman's motion includes the specific points enumerated by Kruse, of

Illinois. Are you ready for the question?

Motion carried.

COMRADE COOK: I resent this attitude very strongly, and I have in my satchel all the information that this convention may desire. I ask that that committee ask to have me up here before it and present the information.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: There is no motion before the house except action on the committee. What is your further pleasure? Do you want to suspend further action on the report of the National Executive Committee until we have an additional report on these subjects? Is there any objection to that?

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: I object.

COMRADE NOONAN: I move that we suspend action on the report of the National Executive Committee until the additional report is received.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE WILSON, of Illinois: I understand I have been elected on two committees, the committee on constitution and the committee on finance.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: Your information is correct.

COMRADE WILSON I wish to select the committee on constitution .

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The next highest will accept on the com-

mittee on finance.

COMRADE LEE: That leaves a vacancy. I would like to ask who are the remaining members.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: Comrade McCarthy will read the list of the committee on finance. (List is read)

COMRADE LEE: I would like to nominate the New York comrade. I know she will be a very useful member of that committee, Comrade Bertha Mailly.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: If there is no objection, the secretary will cast one vote for Comrade Bertha Mailly.

Comrade Mailly was elected as member of the committee on finance.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: It is now twelve o'clock. The committees must work before there is any other business before the convention. I, therefore, move that we adjourn until 7.30, P.M., so that something can be reported at this time.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The motion is that, when we adjourn, we adjourn until 7.30 P.M. tonight, in order to give the committees an opportunity to do their work.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I believe that this convention went on record yesterday as inviting a representative of the cause of India to speak today. I would like to know whether this person has been invited, and whether he intends to come here. Some-

body ought to know.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: Give us the information on that, Comrade Germer.

COMRADE GERMER: I wired that we would hear him today or tomorrow, at his pleasure. He is not here now.

COMRADE HENRY: There was to be a little music furnished us here this evening by the machinists, and one more thing we must remember before we get all confused, is that these committees ought to get together. There ought to be a statement from the chairman of each committee where they will meet, and when.

COMRADE BERGER: I want to amend the motion to make it ten o'clock tomorrow morning, for the reason--

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: Are you ready for the question?

COMRADE HOAN: These committees will all meet within an hour and a half, in the rooms assigned on the black-board, so that we will know that the committees are to get together.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The Chair will take care of that after we pass the motion. After we pass this motion, I will ask that the chairman of the various committees announce when and where their committees are going to meet. I assume that they will make these announcements.

Motion to adjourn until 10.00 o'clock tomorrow morning carried, it now being 12.00 o'clock, M.

FIFTH DAY.

Wednesday, September 3, 1919.

10.00 o'clock, A.M.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Roewer.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: The first order is the reading of communications and telegrams. There is a representative here from the Cigar Makers' Union, and, if there is no objection, the floor will be granted to him.

MR. A. LINGENFELDER: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: I realize that you have valuable work ahead of you. I also realize that you have a great many trials and tribulations that must be settled. But, however, with all your trials and tribulations, you haven't ten per cent. of the same trials and tribulations that we have to go through with. Like you folks, we hope to wash the dirty linen in our own back yard, and hope you will do the same. We are on a strike now for some weeks, in what is commonly called an unauthorized strike. To use the term of the official tone of today, called an illegal strike. The fact is that, by an overwhelming majority of the cigar makers of the city of Chicago, they voted for a 50 per cent. raise in their daily wages. Five members, who were opposed to that 50 per cent. raise, signed a protest. The National President planned it as a tail to the kite, and, as a consequence, the strike application was voted down by referendum, and, as a result of that, we have gone out on

strike in spite of them, and are fighting a strong and bitter battle, realizing that we not only have to lick the employer class but lick the labor leaders on top of it. (Applause) So far as we are concerned, we are going to win that battle, and, if Perkins doesn't like it, he can go to where the woodbine twineth. And, we are in a fair way of winning it. We are standing strong. No scabs are working in the city of Chicago, and, by the way, you can't find scabs any more. The cigar makers are up against it. In Pennsylvania, there are thousands of union people on strike. In New York, your delegates will tell you, there are 20000, as we know, out of 30000 in Greater New York, on strike. In Boston, they were forced to go back after two months, on account of being betrayed by the International officials. We expect five more thousand out before the end of the week throughout the country. So, you see what we are up against. In addition to our strike, we are forced to do that which no other local union has ever done in the history of the movement. We have levied a 50 per cent. assessment on all men working inside and outside of the trade, while organizing the unorganized cigar makers throughout the Central West, in spite of the opposition of our National officials. What I am here for is this: I am going to ask you to do as good as the fellows downstairs did. As far as we are concerned, we are not mixed in this trouble, and downstairs the little handful came across very nobly.

I asked them yesterday to take up a collection, and back it up as good as they possibly could. And, believe me, they came across liberally, and I am going to ask you to do just as good. Help us out, and some day we will be just as liberal to you fellows the first opportunity that we get.

(Applause)

COMRADE ENGDAHL: I move that the sergeant-at-arms take up a collection for the striking cigar makers.

Seconded. Carried.

The following telegrams were received and read:

Wallingford, Conn. Sept. 2, 1919

Adolph Germer
Chicago, Ill.

The clouds of reaction are gathering fast,
unity alone can be our best weapon.

Connecticut N.P.S.L. State Convention

Helen D. M. Manfreda

San Francisco, Calif., Sept. 2, 1919

Adolph Germer
Chicago, Ill.

Please answer Seriatim by number. 1. Has entire California delegation joined communists? 2. Did they bolt before hearing credentials committee or after? 3. Were they barred as left wingers or only pending reconvening of

ballots. Reply by telegram collect as we want information by Wednesday night.

Cameron H. King

155 Buchanan St.

New York City, Sept. 1, 1919.

Herman Michelson.
188 S. Loomis St.
Chicago, Ill.

Late returns show regular party ticket returned with large majority in all districts except Louis Boudin. Apparently is out running opponent for Supreme Court Justice in Brooklyn. Shiobacoff and Solomon way ahead. Fanny Horowitz appears losing.

The Call.

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Brooklyn, N.Y., Sept. 2, 1919

Socialist Party Convention.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:

The 13th-19th assembly district, Brooklyn New York at its regular meeting sends greetings to the delegates of the Socialist Party in convention assembled at Chicago and extends their hearty support in their work of unbuilding the Socialist Party of America.

M. W. Staman, Secretary.

Roxbury, Mass. Sept. 2, 1919.

Adolph Germer
Chicago, Ill.

On behalf of the Jewish Socialist State Federation of Massachusetts, accept our best wishes for the triumph of the noble and revolutionary ideals of Socialism. We hope that the Socialist Party as a whole will emerge from this convention stronger and more united on the lasting principles of Socialism, which shall ultimately lead to a decisive victory of the working class.

Louis Clark

--

New York City.

Socialist Party.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear comrades:

Send greetings. May all your deliberations assure your success, and your achievement lead to a strong movement for the final goal Cooperative Commonwealth.

Peoples Cooperative Society

135 Ave G.

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COMRADE BERGER: I rise to a question of personal privilege. This is the Chicago American in my hand. This is what I found in last night's paper, as a report of the con-

vention: "There was some bitterness over the charge hurled by the left wing that delegate Victor L. Berger, one of the leaders of the right, had come to the convention in a taxicab which happened to be on the unfair list. Berger pleaded hurry, but was not wholly forgiven." I haven't rode in a taxicab in six months. But, I heard this story when I was in New York, too, about four months ago, as having happened in New York; but, not me but another man. That man had a accident in that taxicab. But, it was Mr. Gompers.

CHAIRMAN ROEWER: We now come to the election of a chairman and vice-chairman for the day.

The following comrades were nominated for chairman:

Panken, Roewer, Bausch, Henry, Waldman, Block and Engdahl.

COMRADE HENRY: Since the present chairman had very little work yesterday, I nominate him for today.

On motion, the nominations were closed. Comrades Roewer, Bausch, Henry, Waldman, Block and Engdahl declined, which left Comrade Panken as the selection for chairman of the day.

COMRADE COHEN, of Washington, D.C.: I am sort of responsible for this story, and Comrade Berger asked me to explain. In a hurry to get to the convention just two days ago, I got a Yellow taxicab, not knowing it was on the unfair list. Just as I got out, I heard three people say, at once, "A Socialist in a taxicab on the unfair list." But, evidently, I am not known, and they could not make a fascinating story

by saying, Mrs. Cohen, of Washington, did it. So, they fastened it on poor Comrade Berger.

COMRADE PANKEV: We will now proceed to elect a vice-chairman.

Comrades Brown, Indiana, Block, Krafft, Stumpf, Kruse, were nominated.

On motion, nominations were closed.

Comrades Brown, Block, Krafft, Stumpf and Kruse declined.

Further nominations were, Comrades Bausch and Henry. Comrade Henry resigned, leaving Comrade Bausch as vice-chairman.

COMRADE PANKEN in the Chair.

MR. WILSON, of Illinois: There was a communication handed to the delegates who came into the hall as they came in this morning. It reflects upon this convention. It questions the representation of Michigan, of New York, of Pennsylvania and of Massachusetts. Now, these communications have been handed in here about seven or eight times every day, and, when we go back to our membership to report on the actions of this convention, I for one, and I am sure that the delegates from Illinois that are here also, want this information. They want to know the facts. And, I rise here to make a motion, if it is in order, that a comrade from each one of these states that is charged with being padded by the convention down stairs--

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: May I suggest that, in accordance with the motion made by one of the comrades for the supplemental report from the executive committee, that matter may arise and be brought before the convention. (Cries of "no.")

COMRADE WILSON: It should be handled now before we go any further in this convention.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The motion is not in order unless you suspend the rules. The next order is the supplemental report of the executive committee..

COMRADE HENRY: I move the rules be suspended, and this matter taken up now.

Seconded.

COMRADE S. LOMON: A point of order. On the motion made

yesterday this question was distinctly a question of instruction to the National Executive Committee to report.

COMRADE: BEAREK: It was not.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The point of order is not well taken, for the reason that Comrade Wilson wants this matter brought before the convention prior to any report of the National Executive Committee, and at any time this house can suspend the rules and proceed to the consideration of any other matter.

Motion to suspend the rules carried by a vote of 76 to 7.

Here it was reported that \$60.92 was collected among the delegates for the striking cigar makers of Chicago.

MR. BELLER: I want to extend our heartfelt thanks to you gentlemen and make your deliberations succeed if nothing else, in ultimately uniting the working men, just as you have done in Russia.

COMRADE WILSON: The reason I brought this matter up was not to fight the executive committee or throw thorns into this convention, because I want the facts. I think probably a committee can state the facts better than the National Executive Committee. I move that a committee be appointed, composed of one delegate from Michigan, one from New York, one from Pennsylvania and one from Massachusetts, that they take this matter and figure out the number of members they actually have, upon which their delegations are based here,

and make a report to the convention. Seconded.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I am in favor of this motion, and I believe we can get the figures which will show that there has been a deliberate misrepresentation on the part of the other side.

COMRADE GERMER: You can't get the accurate figures for the last month, in particular, because the translators have not submitted their reports, to the National office for the August dues, so that it would only be an approximate figure. I think, the State secretary, not being here from Michigan, we could not get the official statement except I might make a statement and estimate the number of members from Michigan.

COMRADE COOK: I have in my possession here the ballots and the tabulations of the vote on the last referendum, and also a report of the referendum before the convention. I have no reason, but desire to go before the committee in order to prove to the satisfaction of any one that our delegates here are properly accredited. I think the motion should be unanimously passed so that we can clear the situation up and be done with it.

COMRADE KRUSE: Any figures that are wanted from the translator-secretaries, that are not expelled federations, can be had by just going across the street and asking for them. I am sure they will give every possible cooperation to clear this matter up.

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COMRADE BEARAK: I would be glad to go before any committee to submit the figures of our membership and let the committee bring in the vote on this matter.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Let's have such a committee to pass on it.

On motion, this matter was referred to a committee composed of a delegate from each of the four states affected.

Comrades Beckerman, of New York, Wilson of Pennsylvania, Bearak of Massachusetts and Rubenstein of Michigan, were selected by the convention to constitute such a committee.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: It might be wise to add a fifth one.

Comrade Weiss of New Jersey was selected as the fifth member on the committee.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The next order is the supplemental report from the National Executive Committee. Are they ready to report?

COMRADE GOEBEL: I think it is being worked on.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: What's the pleasure? Shall we proceed to hear other reports?

COMRADE BERENBERG: I move that we proceed to hear the reports from standing committees. Seconded.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Is the committee on constitution ready to make a report? (The response was "no.") Is the committee on platform and party principles ready?

COMRADE LEE: The committee on Party Principles and International Relations has held two sessions. We have one or

two things that we are in a position to report at this time.

I have, first, this resolution:

"Delegates to the National Conventions of the Socialist Party since the birth of our organization will remember the familiar figure of our Comrade William E. McDermut, who always had charge of the stenographic report of the proceedings.

"Recently, while still active in and giving promise of many years of additional service to our Cause, he was suddenly called to death, mourned by comrades everywhere.

"Be it therefore, resolved, by this convention of the Socialist Party, assembled on this third day of September, 1919, that we extend our sympathy to the family of our comrade who has passed away, and spread these resolutions upon our minutes in memory of a faithful and loyal comrade."

I don't know that any remarks are necessary upon this resolution. I am sure you will remember with respect and affection our comrade McDermut, and I move that the resolution be adopted.

Carried by a standing vote.

COMRADE L E: Here is a resolution dealing with the situation in Ireland:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, in convention assembled, supports and endorses every people in the world

demanding self-determination. We see especially in Ireland a people whose brave struggle for decades to free itself from the domination of the overlords of England deserves our unqualified approval.

"We pledge ~~our support~~ to the workers of Ireland our support in every possible way in their efforts for complete separation and freedom, from the British Empire, and, therefore, demand that the government of the United States at once recognize ~~the Irish Republic~~ unconditionally the Irish Republic.

"Further, we join with the workers of Ireland thru their elected representatives at the Drogheda conference, July, 1919, of the Irish Trades Union Congress, and Labor Party to protest against the occupation of their country by the military forces of the British Empire, despite the definite and clearly expressed will of the Irish people, and we call on the workers of Great Britain thru the Independent Labor Party and Socialist Parties of Great Britain, to compel their government to withdraw its army of occupation from Ireland immediately. We likewise call upon organized labor and the Socialists in Canada, South Africa and Australia to join us in this effort."

Adopted.

COMRADE LEE: The next resolution deals with the question of the seating in Congress of a man elected by an over-

whelming majority from the Fifth District of Wisconsin.

"Whereas, the organized monied interests of this country are doing all in their power to prevent our Socialist representative, Victor L. Berger, from obtaining his seat in Congress, and,

"Whereas, as the only offense he is charged with is that of adhering to the platform and principles of the Socialist Party, and is, therefore, a direct attack upon the efforts and the rights of the workers to participate in government, and

"Whereas the success of this attack upon our rights will wipe out one of the bulwarks of constitutional representative government,

"Therefore, be it resolved, that we, the Socialist Party of the United States in convention assembled, demand of Congress that it immediately seat Victor L. Berger, and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the speaker of the House and to each of the members of the committee conducting the Berger hearing before the House." (Applause)

COMRADE STEDMAN: Wouldn't it be just as well to send one to each Congressman?

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Comrade Stedman amends the resolution to reach that each Congressman receive a copy of this resolution.

The motion being seconded, it carried.

COMRADE LEE: Here is another resolution that deals with the race question, or, more specifically, the Negro question.

"Periodical outbreaks of mob violence by members of one race against those of another flatly challenge all claim to human progress and civilization. It is particularly regrettable when workmen of one race are the perpetrators of such outrages against their fellow workers of another; all are exploited alike by their capitalist masters, who are interested financially in keeping the workers divided.

"This has become clearly evident in the recent widespread rioting in Chicago, East St. Louis and other cities. The employers, searching for cheap and unorganized labor, enticed thousands of negro workers from the homes in the south to the factories of the northland. Were they came into competition with the white workers in the struggle for bread, and unfortunately their very recent removal from a condition of enforced social inferiority made them slow to grasp the need of organized effort, in cooperation with their white brothers, to better their conditions. The antagonism of land-owners whose property values were diminished, also contributed to the race prejudice. Lying newspapers, motion pictures, corrupt politics and many other agencies relied upon by the capitalists to keep the workers divided, soon fanned the smouldering flame into violent fire and the dead of both races add another indictment to the horrors of capitalist misrule. The economic basis of society, the profit system,

under which we live, will be found by all who investigate to be the basis of the racial antagonism which culminated in the recent race riots.

"The only final solution of the race problem is the abolition of Capitalism. When every worker is assured of the full product of his labor and the ownership of his job there will be no room on earth for race prejudice. We call upon all workers, regardless of color or creed, to organize politically and industrially, to win our emancipation from the chains of economic slavery that now bind us down and apart from one another."

Adopted.

COMRADE LEE: We have no more resolutions at this time to report. We had a large number under consideration.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Is the committee on finance ready to report?

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: May I inquire whether the National Executive Committee is ready to report?

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: I don't see Comrade O'Neal on the floor. Are you ready to make a supplemental report?

COMRADE O'NEAL: We are not ready yet. I would like to have the members confer with me about the matter.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: We will hear the report of the committee on finance.

COMRADE MCCARTHY: The committee on finance recommends that Sec. 1, Article VI of the Constitution, that "One-half

of the amount received by the National Office for dual dues stamps shall be set aside as a special fund for propaganda among women, to be used exclusively for this purpose, under the direction of the Executive Secretary" be stricken out, and further that the money now remaining in the women's fund be turned over to the treasurer of the National Office to be used for any other expense." As the committee understands it, there was ten cents of the 25 cents that was paid for the dual stamps, and that five cents of it went towards propaganda in the event of women's suffrage. They claim it is now unnecessary and that that fund be reverted back to the National Executive Committee.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: What's the pleasure of the convention? That we take this matter up serialim? That's all they report at this time, on that section. Have you anything else to report? I think we better hear the entire report of the committee.

COMRADE McCARTHY: That Art. 10, Sec. 2, No. 2, be amended to read as follows:

That No. 3, Art. IX, Sec. 5, be amended to read as follows:

"No. 4, that the various state organizations assume the present pressing indebtedness of the National Office approximating five thousand dollars in quotas proportioned to the number of members of the several states, and we further rememmmend that the delegates take up the collection immediately upon their return home and forward thesame to the National Office." That is for immediate use to immediately meet this encumbrance of five thousand dollars.

"No. 5, that the convention instruct the translator-secretaries, who have in their hands funds collected for the expense of the convention, turn over thesame to the National Secretary of the Party." That is another report.

COMRADE DOERFLEER: I move at this time that all such parts of the report of the committee on finance which, in order to bring about their enforcement, would require an amendment to the Constitution, be left to the Committee on Constitution" Seconded.

COMRADE LEE: That would imply that the convention should not express at this time it,s opinion on that question.

COMRADE DOERFLER: Yes.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: I wish to amend this motion, that the committee on finance, committee on constitution and committee on propaganda and agitation have a joint meeting.

COMRADE STEDMAN: If they meet, let one chairman call it. They can all meet together, if they want to.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The question is, that as far as the report deals with changes in the constitution, that these matters be left to the constitutional committee.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: Does that mean we approve it or not, or simply leave it--

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Referred for further action to the constitutional committee.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I will amend it, that this convention should first decide whether it is in favor of these things, and then the constitution committee can take care of the technical end of it; but, we have no other business at the present time, and I think we can dispose of this, and I will amend, that we take up this matter and then refer it to the constitution committee.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The amendment is not in order.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: Why?

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Because it is not germane. If you vote down the reference, at this time, then the matter is open for discussion.

On motion, the matter was referred.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The only question, then, upon which this convention is to act on the report of the committee is No. 4 and 5, that the various states organizations assume the present pressing indebtedness of the National Office approximating five thousand dollars, as follows: "No. 5. That the convention instruct the translator-secretaries who have in their hands funds collected for the expense of the convention turn the same over to the National Secretary of the Party, and that the convention instruct the delegates that, upon their return to their states," if No. 4 and the recommendation is adopted "to immediately collect sufficient funds and turn over their proportionate amount, in accordance with the membership."

The question is that the various state organizations assume present the pressing indebtedness approximating about five thousand dollars. What is your pleasure.

On motion, the same was adopted.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: There is another provision in this report, it seems to me, ought to go before this body. The committee recommends that the constitution be changed in respect to the special fund for propaganda among the women. As I understand, there are some funds, as the committee informed the convention. There is some money in this women's propaganda fund. They recommend to the convention at this time that this

fund be diverted to the use of general propaganda or general work of the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE EDLIN: I move that this matter be referred to the constitution committee.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: If there is no objection, it will go to the constitution committee.

COMRADE MALKIN: Comrade Mailly told us there was a mortgage on the property that was due. I would suggest that the committee be asked whereby the money can be collected to pay for the property and paid into the hands of the National Office for its use.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The committee will stand instructed to consider that, and bring in an additional report.

COMRADE EDLIN: A point of information. You just passed a resolution requesting the translator-secretaries to turn the money over. Do I understand that the National Office has no authority to get that money unless the convention orders it? I want to know about that.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Comrade German, will you take that up in your committee?

COMRADE WALDMAN: I rise to make a motion. A number of the comrades in the committee just got their work started. I move we adjourn until three o'clock. There are some delegates that want to get back home by Saturday at least. This will give some of the committees a chance to make partial reports.

Carried.

Wednesday, Sept. 3d, 1919.

3.00 o'clock, p.m.

Convention called to order by Comrade Panken, chairman.

On motion of Comrade Hogan, Comrade Davies, of Local Hubbard, Ohio, who has been in attendance on the convention during the entire session, and who represents that Congressional District and is loyal to the Socialist movement, and has not followed the Ohio delegation with the other camp, ~~was~~ seated as a delegate from Ohio with a voice but no vote.

COMRADE DAVIS: I would like to state my position before the convention. (Permission was granted by the convention for him to speak.) I was elected a delegate to the Emergency National Convention from the 19th Congressional District, before the national Executive Committee took any action with regard to the State of Ohio. I don't want to toot my horn, but I have been an active worker in the district for a number of years. They know my position well. When I was nominated as a delegate to come to this convention I distinctly told the comrades--because this "left wing" business is not new in Ohio--that I was not a "left wing," and that, if I go to the convention, I would go there to represent the Socialist Party and not the "left wing" party. I was elected with that understanding. I would like to say one word or two, possibly as a criticism of the action of the national Executive Committee in withdrawing the charter

from the state of Ohio when they did. I understand that the National Executive Committee acts for the Socialist Party while it is not in convention. Within two days of the convening of the convention I was notified, as secretary of Local Hubbard, that the charter of our state had been revoked, and was urged to reorganize our local? How in the name of common sense could I organize a local from Wednesday until Friday night and send a representative to this convention? I say this matter could have been left to this convention to do and not be done by the National Executive Committee. If Ohio's charter should be revoked, this convention had the right to do it, and not the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE LULOW: As he is the duly elected delegate from that district, and inasmuch as the members of Ohio who are loyal are not expelled from the Party, then this delegate should be given a voice and a vote in the convention.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: That is not in order. Until the National Executive Committee report is acted upon, the state of Ohio stands suspended.

COMRADE LADUCA: May I have the floor for a question of personal privilege. In this bulletin circulated by the "left wingers," I find the following: "Then, also, we have had a report from the Italian Socialist Federation given by one of its executive committee, and that comrade

informed us that the Italian Federation will without any doubt join the downstairs convention." I want to make clear to this convention that this report is absolutely false. (Applause) So far as the Federation is concerned. I happen to be on the executive committee of that Federation and also happen to be accredited and duly elected delegate of that Federation to this convention. No one else has the right to speak in the name of the Federation to this convention or to any other body throughout the United States. I am sure that I haven't appeared before the committee downstairs or before any other committee suggesting that the Federation will be a "left wing."

COMRADE HENRY: It has been reported downstairs to the Communist Party that the Italians of Indiana have gone to the Communists, but I got word to them that there was no truth in it. Zimmerman, who went downstairs, who was of our delegation, stated down there that there were a thousand back of him, but there is not anybody back of him but hot air and lies.

COMRADE PANKEN: We will hear from the Committee on Press.

COMRADE FLOATEN: We beg to report as follows:

"It is probable that nine-tenths of all who acknowledge themselves to be Socialists have been led to make the decision by the printed rather than by the spoken word. General publicity may be given to the cause by oratory and enthusiasm

and enthusiasm may be stirred up by it, but solid conviction is best attained by reading. Especially is this true ~~by~~ of the reading day by day and the application of Socialist principles to the new events. Nothing is more vitally important to the success of the Socialist propaganda than the Socialist press and particularly the Socialist daily press. In the two cities, New York and Milwaukee, where daily newspapers have been established by the memorable and undaunted courage of the comrades, the solid growth of the party organization and of the Socialist sentiment, as shown by the vote, has had a demonstration not to be disputed.

"There is reason to believe that the present disruptive crisis in the party might have been averted had it not been that this un-Democratic administration has crushed almost all the weaker Socialist publications and seriously crippled those which have survived persecution so far.

"One incident alone emphasized the absolute necessity of an agency for the collection and distribution of Socialist news. The fact that the Socialist party has no knowledge of the number or the names of those who are now undergoing punishment for their economic and political beliefs, many of these are left to suffer ~~prison~~ privation and loneliness in prisons, not because there is no one that cares what becomes of them, but because those who would be

glad to help do not know to whom to send cheering letters and boxes of comforts. Only the comrades of a particular city can determine whether a daily Socialist newspaper can be established there. But they should be warned in advance that bitter experience has shown the complete folly of attempting to start a newspaper with a small amount of money collected in advance. By a campaign of selling shares of stock in small denominations enough funds should be in the bank to buy and pay for an adequate plant in full and still have a working capital. Next to be considered is what is to go into the newspaper. The ordinary news-service is so full of 'poisons' that a large part of editorial time--which means money--is taken up in cutting out capitalist misstatement and interpretation.

"There are now ten daily Socialist newspapers in the United States in English and in foreign languages. Two more are soon to be established. No one of these is financially able to buy a suitable general news-service; no one of these has the names of comrades in various parts of the country, who, while not being actual regular correspondents, could yet be asked to send in information as to a local news event; none of these can afford a foreign news-service. Collectively they could all afford these services.

"In the case of struggling papers, the editor has too much to do to find the time to write even as good editorials as

he knows how to write; none of these command all the time of a first-rate cartoonist. Collectively they could get an editorial service and the mats of cartoons could be sent by mail to all of them for use.

"The combined circulation of the Socialist Press, daily and weekly, would be a valuable property to any advertising agency particularly if it is well understood and harped upon on every page that Socialists are a clannish lot and will go out of their way to buy of those who advertise in their papers in preference to capitalist papers. This is an asset which should not be overlooked.

"Persecution seems likely now to increase rather than to diminish as the advent of the Cooperative Commonwealth grows near. It is not impossible that the Socialist Party itself may be outlawed. In such a case it would be folly to have the Socialist Press 'partly owned.' Holding corporations are recommended whose property rights would have to be respected by the capitalist courts. Party control can be made secure by the provisions that the editorial policy conform to the platform and principles of the Socialist Party.

"Your committee recommends that the National Secretary call a conference of the editors of the Socialist dailies and weeklies for the purpose of arranging for a central agency for the collection and distribution of news, cartoons, material for Sunday magazines, foreign correspondence and the handling

of general advertising."

A motion to adopt was seconded.

COMRADE SOLTIS: I just wish to volunteer some information in connection with that resolution, that in the city of Minneapolis the workers there, in connection with the farmers, have incorporated a publishing concern to the extent of \$200000.00. There will be, in a couple of months, a daily newspaper in the city of Minneapolis which will be owned and controlled by the organized workers of that city and supported to a large extent by the organized farmers. So, in addition to the New York Call and the Milwaukee Leader, I can conscientiously state that in the city of Minneapolis we will have a daily newspaper that will reflect the class struggle. (Applause)

COMRADE AMERTINGER: I also want to say that, in addition to the daily Socialist papers, we have now, or will have about the 8th of December, the Oklahoma Leader to roll off the press. We already have \$30000.00 cash, and will raise \$70000.00 more. The building is going up, and it will be under roof this week. So, we have some more daily papers in this country. The Oklahoma Leader will be somewhat connected with the Milwaukee Leader. (Applause)

COMRADE CLAESSSENS: Those publications that do not conform to this recommendation ought to be presented to the "left wing" in a body as a valuable addition to their pro-

gram.

COMRADE MOILININ: I offer a suggestion that we should devise an amendment or some provision which would really secure to the Party proper control over the Socialist newspapers, so far as the policies of the paper are concerned. We know the dangers to the Socialist Party to change the publication of the Socialist papers in the name of certain individuals or under the control of certain individuals. We have an example to what length a partly owned and partly controlled newspaper may go in propagating the views and policies of real Socialism.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: The Committee on Propaganda have taken this question up. They find at the present time a proper solution is impossible.

Report of the Committee on Press was adopted.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: I move that the new Executive National Committee prepare a plan for party control of the Press, and submit it to the National Convention. Seconded.

Adopted.

COMRADE LEE: The next is a resolution on the subject of Co-operatives.

"The final goal of the class-conscious workers of the world is the abolition of all forms of exploitation and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth. In the struggle to achieve this purpose, the workers must use every weapon available.

"While the main function of the Socialist Party is to organize the workers for the purpose of wresting the political machinery from the present ruling class--the capitalists--its work can and must extend to other avenues thru which the workers may achieve their final aim.

"The more intelligent of the American city and country workers have learned, particularly within the last few years, that no matter how successful they may be in obtaining an advance in their earnings the amount so obtained is never adequate because of the control of the prices of the necessities of life by the capitalist class.

"Throughout Europe today tens of millions of workers are combining in cooperative societies. These organizations have aided materially in raising the standard of living of the workers. They have lent no mean support to the working class during many an industrial battle. They have given to the workers an invaluable training in the conduct of industry. Following the Russian revolution, the cooperatives of Russia were powerful agents in sustaining the people during the period of readjustment. In the United States their growth during the last year has been a remarkable one. Throughout Europe the Socialist parties observing its value to the workers, have given cooperatives their hearty support.

"Therefore, the Socialist party, in Special Convention assembled in Chicago on August 30, 1919, hereby resolves to

aid in educating the workers towards the need of cooperation and to assist the workers in organizing cooperative societies in order that they may ultimately learn to control the distribution of commodities and may immediately resist the profiteering of the capitalist class. Such societies, however, should be organized only when the possibilities of success are reasonably assured.

"The convention hereby instructs the coming National Executive Committee:

"(a) To publish literature on the subject of the cooperative movement.

"(b) To instruct speakers and organizers engaged by the party to encourage the idea of cooperative purchasing and eventually of cooperative production for use.

"(c) To urge the comrades everywhere to support every bona fide cooperative enterprise in their particular communities.

"(d) To require all State Secretaries to report at stated periods to the National Office, the progress of the work for cooperatives in the respective states and to utilize all such data for furthering the cooperative movement."

COMRADE BAUSCH.: I believe in that resolution there ought to be stated something to this effect: that all of your time and energy put mainly in a cooperative enterprise is a detriment to the Socialist movement. We have had that experience in New Jersey. Practically eight branches were shot

to pieces because of small cooperative stores and enterprises. We had all kinds of trouble to that extent. We have the Finnish organization in Jersey City that's doing the same thing. They run their small cooperatives, and pay no attention to the Socialist Party propaganda whatsoever.

You can't get them to do anything to help the movement along. They devote their time entirely to these cooperatives. I think a statement to that effect ought to be included in this resolution, cautioning the members against doing this very thing.

COMRADE ROTH: I rise to oppose this motion. These are the instructions which we were given from Buffalo. "We demand that the Party teach, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism through a working class government."

COMRADE NAGEL: If we adopt this resolution, we will find in the course of about twelve months that we will be confronted with this condition of affairs: You will send out from national headquarters a good speaker who can present this question of cooperatives to the farmer or the wage worker in the small towns. He will present it in an effective way, and he will leave the town. Then, some school fellow--and this occurred so many times in my own experience--will take this mandate from the Socialist Party, and he will get up and claim this and that, and he will sell stock, and

he will put in his own daughter as bookkeeper and typewriter, who can't write 20 words a minute, and he will put in one of his friends as salesman, and they will run the store for eight or ten months, and then go into the hands of a receiver, and that will leave a lot of debts behind it, and the whole thing will be charged up to the Socialist Party. Now, I tell you, if we go into that business, it is a losing proposition. Theoretically, it is all right. But, it won't work out in practice. And, we don't want to have anything to do with it, as far as it is concerned.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I can speak on this question both from a theoretical and practical viewpoint. We started with one, and now have four. We have, as a result of going into this, increased the activity and increased the membership, and make the movement not merely a political one. We know, for instance, in Russia that the comrades had a terrible handicap to overcome, due to the fact that they had no experience along these lines.

I want to say to the comrade who talks about overthrowing the capitalist system, that the aim of Socialism is more than merely to overthrow. Socialism has to recreate also, and Socialism must develop the necessary experience for administering the states when they have established it.

If the time comes, if the time does come, when they have a socialist state over here, I think it is necessary for us

to get the necessary experience for administering them. Overthrow is one thing, and administering another thing, and the cooperative scheme is very good education to the working class when they can be called upon to manage things for themselves. In that respect, the cooperative movement is very valuable to the whole socialist movement.

COMRADE ASKELI: I want to speak in favor of the resolution. The cooperative movement is one of the three weapons we have in our possession; we have the political organization; we will have the industrial organization; and, we will have the cooperative organization. The cooperative movement is a revolutionary movement. It teaches the people how to get rid of capitalism; how we can control our affairs without capitalism. Therefore, it is a revolutionary movement, and it is worth of the support of all the workers. I think that the resolution suits me; but, I think there is a fundamental error in that resolution. If I remember right, the wording in the resolution says, "that we urge the workers to establish cooperatives at the point of production." Does it say that?

COMRADE LEE: "Consumption as well as production."

COMRADE ASKELI: We can establish cooperatives at the point of production. I think that point should be reworded. Otherwise, I am in favor of the resolution.

COMRADE LEE: You want to strike out with reference to

productive cooperatives.

COMRADE ASKELI: Yes.

COMRADE BERGER: The socialist movement is bigger than the Socialist party; it is bigger than the industrial movement; and it is bigger than the cooperative movement; but the socialist movement ought to make use of all the various activities. In fact, the socialist movement started in different ways in different countries. In England, for instance, where the trade union movement was developed first, and where they didn't have the right of ballot, but finally in England also they made use of the political party; they made use of the cooperative movement and of the trade unions; they made use of all activities. In Belgium, the socialist movement started as a cooperative movement, but finally they developed the union movement, the industrial movement and also the political movement. In Germany they started as a political movement, because they got the right to vote, they got the ballot early, but finally they developed immense cooperative movements and immense unions. I hope we will have the same results here, that we have as big a movement. I am not sitting as a judge over England, Belgium, France or Germany. We have to learn from experience. So far, we haven't taken root, either for a political movement, nor do we have a very good union movement, nor do we have a cooperative movement. But, we ought to combine all the various activities, only we should

be careful. We started a cooperative store in Milwaukee two or three times, and they went to pieces. Why? Because we had a preacher at the head of it. What does a preacher know about business? The same thing might happen if we had the same man at the head of a political movement. We ought to encourage all the various activities, but we ought to warn the comrades not to go about it until we are prepared, until we get the right kind of material. In fact, it is one of our great problems to get the right kind of material, for a political movement, for an industrial movement and for the cooperative movement. It is worthy the thought of our best men. Until we get the idea of cooperatives in the minds of our people, until they understand it, the cooperative commonwealth can never be a success, no matter how many votes you cast. I hope that my good friends in New York, that probably have a better chance than we have got, will help along in the line of cooperatives.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I notice that the word "workers" is being used constantly as ~~though~~ those who are organizing the cooperative movement. I know that the cooperatives in the United States are being run by farmers, and that the farmer population today is giving their attention to it, and I would like to see this resolution apply to the farmers as well as industrial workers. As a matter of fact, it applies more to the farmers than to the industrial workers.

Therefore, I amend that part of the resolution that says that "the workers are establishing cooperatives," etc., that we say, "the workers and the farmers of the United States are establishing cooperatives," etc. That will give the resolution a ground to stand on.

COMRADE BERLYN: In the United States and in all countries, the idea of cooperatives has proven a success. In the other countries they have advanced beyond all reason. Socialism is cooperation, but all cooperatives are not socialism. We are compelled to cooperate in industrialism. I would not want this Party to go on record as being opposed to cooperatives, as being opposed to any form which may help the working class in any manner that they should see fit. But, this resolution contains a paragraph that ought to be stricken out. We don't want a man to monkey with a thing that doesn't belong to him! We have no objection to it being a workers movement, but try to make the cooperatives do more business for them.

MR. HOGAN: If I had a vote in this convention, I would vote for this resolution for one particular clause in it that the committee was kind enough to bring out; that the business of the cooperative branch of our movement is a business primarily for the purpose of fitting us for the administration of the state in the future. I am astonished at my comrade Berlyn, who points out that most of the cooperatives of the past have proven failures.

COMRADE BERLYN: In this country.

COMRADE HOGAN: The, also, I should say in this country that the trade union movement has been a failure. I should point out that all of our efforts for years and years have been failures. But, it is upon failures, or by reason of these failures, that we are able to build and able to continue to correct the mistakes of the past. Experience and experimentation is the great school in which most of us more or less learn. Now, I maintain that there never has been anything wasted; that all of the efforts that have been made in the direction of building up the working class of this country in the direction of establishing the cooperative movement and in the direction of establishing an ideal labor union, are not wasted; that we have, out of each of these, developed our great socialist movement, just to the extent that we were worthy of them, just to the extent that we were able to carry them on and carry them out. We have this to learn, that the great socialist movement consists of these three great things, as Comrade Berger pointed out: political organization, economic~~x~~ organization and the cooperative movement. And, whenever you see a political movement that may be killed by reason of a cooperative movement, as pointed out by our friend from New Jersey, you must say that they had no political movement there to start with. Whenever the economic movement overshoots the political movement, or either overshoots the cooperative movement, or

the cooperative movement overshoots the other, then, there is a lack of balance and a lack of understanding, and an appreciation of the importance of all three. And, this must be the ultimate and the ideal of every socialist and socialist workers to see that the importance of these three arms of the movement shall be equally spread and equally understood.

Call for the previous question.

The resolution was adopted, to conform to the ideas suggested.

MR. L. E.: The next resolution is one concerning India.

"Whereas after 150 years of British rule 315 million East Indians live under conditions of abject poverty and in fear and terror of their brutal conquerors, and the average length of life of these people is but 23 years and 6 million of them through undernourishment and starvation have died within the last year, and this in a country which is one of the richest of all in natural resources, and

"Whereas, Great Britain, to favor home industries has crushed enterprise in India to hold its people in subjection, and has thereby instituted a system by which 93 per cent. are illiterate and has imposed large armies upon the vanquished and levied exorbitant taxes without representation. To stifle the slightest plaintive protest the most drastic sedition laws have been passed and prosecutions are reinforced by secret trials, inquisition and

dark age tortures; disaffection is a crime and has been defined legally there to be the want of affection; the overburdened beaten thrall of India who does not love his master's whip and says so is a criminal and subject to punishment as such. Not content with its reign of brutality and its mailed fist in India, Great Britain reaches out into the United States and demands the return of those East Indians who for freedom's cause have come to us for political asylum;

"Now, therefore, be it resolved that we support by the voice of the tradition which once in this land spoke with the love of liberty, condemn and protest against the deportation of East Indian's apostles of freedom, and further, that India be recognized as an independent, self-ruling people.

On motion, said resolution was unanimously adopted.

CONRAD LEE: Here is another resolution:

"The Socialist Party in national convention assembled this third day of September, 1919, vehemently denounces the continued imprisonment of Thomas J. Hooney and Warren W. Billings, both working class victims of a monstrous capitalist class frame-up. The imprisonment of these spokesmen of labor has become an international scandal, due to the fact that it is universal knowledge that their conviction was obtained on manufactured evidence procured by a servile district attorney conducting the prosecution at the behest of the capitalist interests of California.

"Since the conviction many things have occurred to confirm the belief that the case against Hooney and Billings was a

frame-up, among them the confession of the notorious perjurer, Frank C. Oxman, who was induced to give perjured evidence against the accused, and the report of Director of Employment Densmore, which disclosed a network of crime, and intrigue in District Attorney Wicker's office.

"We reaffirm our faith in the innocence of these victims of the class war and declare that they have been singled out for special persecution because of their conspicuous and unanswering loyalty to their fellow workers, with the object in view of destroying, thru them, the labor movement they so splendidly and courageously helped to establish.

"We ~~re~~affirm further that we shall spare no effort to accomplish justice for Mooney and Billings, and in pursuit of this object we demand an immediate and fair retrial, or their immediate and unconditional release; and we urge all individual party members and sub divisions of the party to aid and assist in every way possible, including participation in the proposed one day strike on October 8th, 1919, should it take place."

On motion, said resolution was adopted.

CHAIRMAN RANVEN: The sub-committee is ready to report, comrade Weiss, chairman, on the representation of the four states challenged by the "left wing."

COMRADE WEISS: The claim has been made that Massachusetts has a membership of 1400 with 11 delegates; Pennsylvania, 2500 with 17 delegates; New York, 40000 with 52, and Michigan, 150

with 6 members.

The committee finds that the average membership on which representation was based in 1918 was as follows:

Massachusetts	5259	entitled to 14
Pennsylvania	6302	entitled to 17
New York	12641	entitled to 32
Michigan	2655	entitled to <u>6</u>
Total		69

As a matter of fact, the attendance at this convention was as follows:

Massachusetts	10
Pennsylvania	17
New York	32
Michigan	<u>4</u>
Total	63

The average membership for the first six months of 1919 was as follows:

Massachusetts, 5836; Pennsylvania, 7063; New York, 14302; Michigan, 2846.

Had the representation been based on the June 1919 membership, the result would have been as follows:

Membership; Massachusetts, 2208; Pennsylvania, 3131; New York, 7772; Michigan, 432.

The total membership for June 1919 was 42217. On this basis New York would have been entitled to 27 delegates and Massachusetts to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$. Michigan, however, on the June figures,

is entitled to only 2 representatives instead of 4,
and Pennsylvania to 11 and a half instead of 17. The total
would be 61 instead of the 63 delegates present in those
states, a discrepancy of two votes." Applause.

On motion, the report was adopted.

CHAIRMAN BANYEN: Is the National Executive Committee ready
to report?

COMRADE O'NEAL: No.

CHAIRMAN BANYEN: Is there any other committee ready to
report in the meanwhile?

COMRADE HALONEN: The Finnish Delegation wishes to make a
report, as follows:

COMRADE WALONEN: I wish to state that this federation remains in the American Socialist Party, and will always abide by the decision of the majority of the Party.

CHAIRMAN PARKER: The experience of New York and Massachusetts is that the Finns are always right and stick, and they will remain in the Party, because we know.

COMRADE BLOCK: In connection with the telegrams we moved the other day to be sent to the various war class prisoners who are now in jail, I have the following:

"The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention assembled in Chicago, sends fraternal greetings to you, and extend to you its earnest appreciation of the services that you have rendered to our great and common cause in suffering imprisonment for the sake of justice and truth."

COMRADE COHEN, of Washington: I move to amend to include Emma Goldman.

COMRADE PARKER: I am informed Emma Goldman has been released.

COMRADE: Let it also include Benthal of Minnesota.

COMRADE PARKER: yes.

COMRADE MOLLININ: I move an amendment that the telegram be sent also to those who are about to go to jail.

CHAIRMAN PARKER: yes, that is included.

COMRADE SHIPLEY: I move you that we instruct the committee

on Propaganda and Organization to draft a statement to the comrades in those states and parts of the country where the delegates, after having been duly elected and sent as delegates to this convention, have taken it upon themselves to desert the Socialist Convention, and making it just as clear as possible. Seconded.

COMRADE BERGER: I suggest that, instead of that, we appoint a committee of three for the specific purpose of issuing a proclamation, just a short one, to the Party in general, explaining why it is and how everything came about, and that committee to report tomorrow. Seconded.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Then, I will withdraw my motion.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I suggest that we appoint a committee of seven. Seconded.

The committee was finally amended to be five, and the following were selected: Comrades O'Neal, Weiss, Brown, Berger and Wilson.

CHAIRMAN BANTON: Is the committee on Organization and Propaganda ready to report?

COMRADE BEARAK: This is a partial report.

"1. That the National Office maintain a bureau of information on military, political and industrial prisoners. This bureau to be in charge of a clerk or department head whose duty it shall be to gather information on the status of all political, military, industrial and conscientious objectors held

as prisoners, as well as other violations of the right of press and speech. This information is to consist of the number of prisoners held, names of those receiving amnesty, conditions of prison, privileges granted prisoners under the rules of the various institutions, needs of the individual prisoners as to clothing, literature and food. State and national bills pending before Legislative bodies bearing upon such cases. We further recommend that this information be given regularly each week to the radical press thru the National Office Press Service."

Comrade Berenberg: I suggest that the word "department" be stricken out, and that it be under the direction of the clerk, under the supervision of the National Executive Committee.

Chairman Panken: That is satisfactory.

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE BERAK: The next section. "2. That in reference to the Y. P. S. L. we recommend as follows:

(a) That the Department of the Y. P. S. L. should be merged with the Department of Socialist Schools; and that the age limit for eligibility in the Y. P. S. L. be 21 instead of 30 years.

(b) That the National Executive Committee work out

a study course and suggest its adoption to the Y. P. S. L.

On motion the same was referred to the Committee on Constitution.

COMRADE BERAK: 3 "We recommend that proper steps be taken to engage two or more comrades who understand the race question to draft literature dealing on the subject, and that the literature be kept on hand in the National Office."

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE BERAK: 4 "We also recommend that the Executive Committee put a speaker or organizer in the field and keep him working in districts where there are large negro populations. We further recommend that the Convention send greetings to the Messenger Publishing Company of New York, congratulating the editors on the work they are doing among the negroes."

On motion the same was carried.

COMRADE BERAK: 5 We recommend to the National Executive Committee that they elect a sub-committee of two from their midst, to be known as the Committee on Agitation among Women. Their duty shall be the preparation of literature, the supervision of all special political campaigns, and economic struggles of women workers, the assignment of speakers whenever necessary, and to encourage

locals and branches to elect from membership committees for special propaganda among women.

6. "We recommend that in all our cities where women are enfranchised, a woman organizer be elected. Her duties to consist of the establishment of citizenship schools, bringing out of all Socialist Women Voters, the naturalization of all women party members, the preparation and distribution of literature to all women voters, and place wherever possible our speakers in the different clubs and organizations of women."

COMRADE BERAK: 7. "We also recommend the establishment of a column to women in our Press Bureau."

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE BERAK: 7. We recommend that the incoming N. E. C. establish a speaker's bureau for the purpose of furnishing all the states and locals with speakers, organizers and lecturers at nominal rates."

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE BERAK: 8. "We recommend that such states as are unable to maintain an efficient state office shall be grouped geographically into districts for the purpose of efficient organization and propaganda. The grouping of such shall not interfere with regular state offices and secretaries, but is to supplement their regular work.

The National Executive Committee shall provide an organizer for the district. Such organizer shall be one who is familiar with the problem of that particular district assigned to him.

On motion the same was carried.

COMRADE BERAK: 9. "We recommend that the National Executive Committee be instructed to provide for an up-to-date National Membership Card file system to be maintained in the National Office."

COMRADE O'NEAL: Does that mean to keep a record of all party members of all states?

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Yes.

On motion the same was carried.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The vote recurs on the adoption of the whole report as read.

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE BERAK: 10. " We recommend that the constitution be so amended as to provide the following:

The Charter of any state may be revoked by the National Executive Committee for failing to prosecute and, if found guilty, to punish a local, branch or member for violating any provision of the National Constitution."

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: Without any discussion that will be referred to the Committee on Constitution.

COMRADE BERAK: 11. "We recommend that in all matters of party discipline regarding elected political national officials, the National Executive Committee be given power to direct and instruct such officials."

COMRADE O'NEAL: Let that be referred to the Committee on Constitution.

COMRADE PANKEN: The matter will be referred.

COMRADE BERAK: "We recommend that the National Executive Committee be empowered and stand instructed to engage a National Organizer for the purpose of assisting and advising State Secretaries, in the performance of their duties, and, if this shall be done in such a manner as not to interfere with the regular work of these officials, the National Executive Committee shall choose a person who has knowledge of party executive and organization work."

COMRADE WALDMAN: I would like to move that the whole proposition be tabled.

On motion said recommendation was laid on the table.

COMRADE BERAK: 12. "We recommend the establishment of a uniform bookkeeping system for all branches, weak

state organizations and language federations connected with the party.

On motion the same was carried.

COMRADE BERAK: 13. "We recommend that the National Party Bulletin we mailed to each member of the party."

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE BERAK: 14. "We recommend that the minutes of the National Executive Committee and such other party matters as the N. E. C. specifically submits for publication shall be printed without revision in all of the party press and also in the foreign press without editorial revision or comment."

COMRADE ASKLEI: I desire to move that that matter be laid on the table until the language federation question is decided by this Convention.

Said motion was adopted.

COMRADE BERAK: 15. "We recommend that the following states: North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi be grouped into a district to be known as the South Eastern District, and that the sum of \$156.00 per month for a period of six months be appropriated for organization and propaganda work in that territory, and, if this effort proves successful, the National Executive Committee stand authorized to extend further as-

sistance for the next six months."

COMRADE GERMER: I would like to have it amended so as to read: "As soon as the finances are available."

COMRADE COOK: We accept that.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The question recurs on a vote on the adoption of the whole report.o

On motion the same was carried.

On motion the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock A. M.

SIXTH DAY.

Thursday, September 4, 1919.

10 o'clock A. M.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: He first orders the reading of the minutes.

COMRADE ORR: I move that we dispense with the reading of the minutes.

Adopted.

CHAIRMAN PANKEN: The next order of business is the reading of the supplemental report of the National Executive Committee.

COMRADE O'NEAL: Said report is as follows:

On motion the discussion on this report was limited to two hours.

Comrade Bausch was elected Chairman of the day and Comrade Block was elected Vice-Chairman.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that this Convention concur in the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending the foreign federation specified in revoking the Charters of the States specified and withholding the referendums specified in this report.

Seconded.

COMRADE STEDMAN: A point of information.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: The Chair is inclined to rule that motion out of order. I believe that you have set aside two hours to discuss this question first pro and con, and I believe after that has been done this motion would be in order.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I take an appeal from the decision of this Chair. The Chair is mistaken, I believe. There is no such thing as abstract discussion and then to make a motion when we are thru discussing because the motion can be so worded that it will require two more hours discussion on the motion itself. The Chair's decision is opposed to Parliamentary procedure.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I believe I am justified in ruling the motion out of order for this reason: You have decided on a two-hour limit to thrash this matter out, and I believe in doing that. You have dispensed with the regular order of business. You are now going to go into a discussion session on the supplementary report of the committee and I believe it is injustice to everybody here with different opinions on this matter to discuss this thing before we come to any solution in regard to the motion.

On a vote the Chair was not sustained.

CONRADE TAYLOR: I wish to state that in this case the State of Michigan is very vitally interested in this. Two members of our delegation have found it necessary to go home, leaving the State of Michigan represented by only two delegates. We have a comrade in the Convention without credentials that I think, under the circumstances, should be seated, and I so move.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: The Chair will declare that motion out of order.

CONRADE BECKERMAN: I don't believe it is very necessary for many comrades to take the floor on this proposition so far as supporting the side of the National Executive Committee. It would require a great deal of

argument from the other side for those who would say that the National Executive Committee was not justified in taking the action it did. It is one matter to have left wing principles and a desire to make the party grow more to the left in view of the development throughout the world, and another matter to set aside party platforms and party principles, and in doing so not only set aside these platforms and principles but the party itself. Our party meets in Convention at varied periods and draws up certain platforms. The platform is sent to a referendum of the membership. If it is approved it becomes the platform of the Socialist Party, and must be subscribed to by every organization within the Socialist Party, and by every member thereof until the platform is changed by the membership of the party. If any member or any organization takes it upon itself or himself to set aside that platform and take the platform out of the Socialist Party, that individual or organization by doing so rules itself automatically out of the Socialist Party. (Applause)

The Socialist Party permits the initiation of any change of platform that any one may think is necessary. It permits this thing to go to a referendum vote, and when the membership has decided it becomes the new platform

of the Socialist Party. In the case of the foreign federation, they have deliberately set aside the decisions of the National Executive Committee; they have deliberately set aside the party platform and have taken unto themselves a platform out of the Socialist Party before the Socialist Party membership decided to change this platform. In that sense the National Executive Committee was compelled to suspend the Federation. I am glad to say that we have in the National Executive Committee a body of men who were strong enough to go through with a proposition like this, and if we had weakness in the N. E. C., then we would absolutely have no party whatsoever today. (Applause) There is no organization of any kind that can exist without by-laws, constitution and party discipline, and the National Executive Committee that would permit anybody any where in the country and adopt any platform it wanted and break any rules that it saw fit, such a National Executive Committee would be absolutely betraying the Socialist Party, and if it permitted this thing to go on there would be absolutely no party left, I don't care how many states were suspended, and I don't care how many foreign federations were suspended, but if these acts were not done, if the National Executive Committee were not to do what they did, then you

would have absolutely nothing left, and you would have no organization in the future; whereas, at the present time, we have a possibility and an opportunity of once again building up our organization on the lines of discipline, constitution, by-laws and regulations that every organization must have. Now, this convention unanimously decided that the National Executive Committee was correct in setting aside the election. This convention was of the unanimous opinion that they believed that the elections were fraudulent and that the National Executive Committee in this respect was correct in setting aside the elections. I would want to hear the logic on ~~the~~ a situation which says on the one hand that the elections were fraudulent, and on the other hand, that the federations that were responsible for these frauds, should not be suspended for the frauds that they had committed against the membership of the Socialist Party. Take for instance this: "Resolved, that the act of the National Executive Committee in expelling the Socialists of Michigan from the Socialist Party without giving the state a trial or hearing in its own defense;" has been disproved.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Your time is up.

COMRADE SOLOMON: I want to confess that nothing has

been added to the case, as far as I am concerned, by the remarks of Comrade Beckerman. I don't see how any member who wants the supplementary report adopted, can make it any stronger by taking the floor. I want to express my unlimited admiration for the almost judicial genius of the men who drew this report. I consider it a masterpiece. We voted here to consume not more than two hours in the discussion of the report. We who want this report adopted can very well afford to give the entire time to the opposition.

I can't see how the opposition can make any argument against the adoption of this report unanimously.

(Applause)

COMRADE ASKELI: I want to protest against limiting the time on this discussion of this report. I want to say that I am not a left winger. I haven't taken any part in the organization, but I, nevertheless, have the courage enough to say --- I will agree with the comrade from New York that this is a judicial report, and it is well worded, and it is a good defense of the actions of the N. E. C. --- I have the courage to say a few words against this report. Now, as to the suspension of the Federation, they tried to justify those suspensions of the federation. They tried to say that the federations

were given a trial. I still maintain that the federations were not given a trial. Is that a trial. Of course the translator secretaries, that is, those offending translator secretaries, appeared before the committee, and then they were carefully examined in the presence of the National Executive Committee. Do you call that a fair trial? Every criminal and every crook would be given a trial, or at least time to prepare for a trial, and these comrades were not given time to prepare, and that is a fact. Now, those comrades in the National Executive Committee took at least two weeks' time to prepare. What was the charges against them? One of the main charges was a letter that the translators sent to the National Executive Committee. That same letter was presented to myself, but I didn't feel like signing it, because I didn't agree with it. It was foolish in my judgment. Only the translator's secretary sent it; the federation Executive Committee did not have anything to do in preparing that letter. The Federation National Executive Committee and the Federation Membership should have been consulted before the suspension was put into effect. Now, in the Michigan case I think that they were not given a trial, and they admit they didn't give it a trial. I am in full harmony with the National Executive Committee

that Michigan committed a violation of the party law, but the judgment on the Michigan State Organization was premature. The Michigan Convention adopted an entire reform plan, in their convention, then submitted this proposition to a referendum. The Referendum in Michigan ended the 30th of May; the National Executive Committee, May 26th, four days before the ending of the referendum in Michigan, expelled the State of Michigan because of this entire reform plan. Why act so hasty? Why didn't the National Executive Committee await the time of expiration of that referendum? There is only two hours given for this discussion, and I will yield to other speakers, but I want to say this, that if this action is not condemned we are going to submit a minority proposition and submit that to the membership. Our federation is only a small one. We used to have 15,000 and 10,000 members, and now it is about 5,000, or a little more.

COMRADE LADUCA: I had made up my mind not to take the floor upon this question, but I changed it again when I heard the statement made by Comrade Askeli. As regards the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending the federation, I have been opposed to it personally and my federation has been opposed to it on the

ground that it was to some extent czaristic and we thought perhaps wrongful; that the whole thing should be thrashed out in this convention. We always maintain, myself and my federation, that it was absolutely justified; that it was backed up by common sense and by our constitution.

Comrade Askeli's statement that the letter presented by the translators to the N. E. C. was not an act of the federation, but of the individual translator, is not true.

I personally appeared before the N. E. C. and asked the privilege of the floor, and asked each and every one of the secretaries present whether this act was their own act or the act of the federation, and they unanimously replied that it was the act of their federation. Now, then, Comrade Askeli tried to make an impatient appeal of a moral character. He said every crook, criminal and pick-pocket has at least a fair trial. Let me inform Comrade Askeli, as little as I know about judicial proceedings, that every crook, pickpocket or liar, that goes before a court and pleads guilty, needs no trial. When he pleads guilty the trial is over. Did these federations plead guilty? I wish that the comrade on the National Executive Committee, who makes this report, would have included that letter, and then let us find out whether they had any trials. They pleaded guilty

in every one of their actions and they opposed that right on the floor of the National Executive Committee meeting. So they pleaded guilty and no more trial is necessary, So far for the federations. Now, going to the Michigan situation. Michigan also did not have no trial. As a matter of fact, the records of the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party reveal this; when Keracher was before the committee, called in haste, by some delegate or some good friend, he was asked specifically by Comrade O'Neal, speaking for the committee and not for any individual, "Isn't it a fact that this resolution of yours, this new plank of yours, was supported by a majority in your referendum?" Keracher said, "I refuse to give this committee any information." Now, is that a right or is it not a right? Comrade Keracher said further, "That case is closed. You have expelled us. What do you want the information for?" That was the implication; perhaps not the exact words. Then Comrade Goebel spoke up and said: "The committee is still meeting. We may revoke our position or may change it. We may revoke the expulsions." And then Keracher said, "I still maintain that I owe you no information." Now, if the referendum didn't break up that resolution why didn't Keracher say so. If the referendum was not closed

why didn't he say so. It was a deliberate attempt to challenge the authority of the committee; to challenge the good wish of the committee to do justice to the state of Michigan. For no other cause, and for this cause only, for the action of the State Secretary alone, for everything that pertains to discipline and good will, he ought to be expelled. I think I have answered everything that Comrade Askeli has said. I want to put myself on record before this convention, as I said in starting out, that I am opposed to the action of the N. E. C., for the reason that I have stated, that I earnestly believe that the N. E. C. should have taken more cautious action. They could have in my judgment perhaps written to the comrades in Michigan, "See here, you revoke that silly thing you have put in the platform until the convention can meet. Come to our convention and bring it before the convention of the Socialist party, and then if the membership ~~is~~ of the Socialist Party wants it, well and good." They didn't do that. They could have done it. They could have saved a whole lot of trouble by doing it. That is my personal judgment. Perhaps I am wrong but I think I am right. But so far as the action of the N. E. C. being justified it is one thousand times justified and then one

thousand times again.

COMRADE WEISS: I am utterly opposed to the adoption of this resolution. Thru this whole unfortunate controversy many mistakes have been made. The action of the National Executive Committee is, in my opinion, absolutely unwarranted and unconstitutional, and from the standpoint of politics, one of the most stupid things that could have been done. For instance, on the first page, they dwell at great length on the action of the secretary in participating in the amnesty and other matters. That was a question of the secretaries alone. If the secretaries were guilty they should be punished. If the editors of the paper were guilty they should be punished. But in expelling these thousands of members of the National Executive Committee has won the antagonism of thousands of comrades who have worked hard for the movement and have given their time and their energy, their money, and everything they possess, and those comrades have been guilty of nothing. They are condemned because, unfortunately, they have been led by some people who, for their personal ambitions, have seen fit to wreck the Socialistic movement and to betray and mislead the people who were their followers. The National Executive Committee says they regarded

their action as temporary, and that the convention itself will decide whether the vote was sufficient. To my mind the only way in which that matter could have been decided was, to have not only the reports and the statements and the statements of the National Executive Committee, but there should have been given an opportunity to the people who were suspended to come before this convention and lay their case before them. The National Executive Committee presumed to act as a temporary measure. I believe this is a court of final resort. If this court is one of final resort, then the persons whom you are trying should have been brought before this convention. They say in the last page of this report that the committee did not exclude people with left wing tendencies. From the standpoint of politics merely, and I am not going to argue this matter at great length, from a constitutional standpoint, it would have been the course of wisdom to have admitted to the floor of this convention on the very first day of all those delegates who came with credentials showing that they were elected by the membership. You would have been perfectly safe; you are in the majority, because these comrades number no more than twenty-five or thirty. The comrades sitting here who have voted

for the left wing, or for the opposition, many of them have been forced into that position by what they regard the arbitrary action of the majority. Many of those would have voted with the majority had the minority been allowed to come here prepared to present their case.

In the case of the State of Massachusetts the clause adopted does not in my mind or in the mind of any one who reads the matter carefully, constitute any violation of the constitution. On page 7 there occurs what, in my mind, is a typical example of what Comrade Solomon characterizes as judicial reasoning. It is exactly the sort of reasoning the Supreme Court of any State would have indulged in to differentiate and render a decision in what otherwise would be a clear case of a violation of the law. It says; "The National Executive Committee has the power to grant state charters and has done so in the past." Now, in any court of law, unless that particular charter had been granted by the National Executive Committee, that charter could not be revoked by the National Executive Committee. As to the proposed referendum, that the National Executive Committee objected to because it tended to weaken them, the National Executive Committee did not know whether that was done intentionally. It does not

appear that they made any effort to find out. It would be the simplest thing in the world to write a letter to the Ohio comrades telling them that this was a violation of certain sections of the Constitution, and if you want a referendum you must eliminate this class. This creates a suspicion in my mind that ~~xxis~~ not entirely cast aside by this report.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Your time is up.

COMRADE PANKEN: On page 2 of the report the last paragraph reads as follows: "We might add that in voting these suspensions we regarded our action as temporary. We provided that the convention should decide whether the evidence was sufficient to justify suspension, and also urged that the language federations have their own representatives at the Convention to present their case to the delegates."

COMRADE CHASE: A point of order. A point of information is something that the delegate asks, not that he gives.

COMRADE PANKEN: No, I am asking for it. I am stating a ground for the information. I want to know from the report, what has been done to bring the representatives of the language federations to this Convention to be heard.

COMRADE O'NEAL: I presume the national secretary could answer that. I presume nothing has been done for the good reason that it became apparent shortly after the action was taken that the language federations had no desire to come before the Convention and present their case, be-
frankly
cause they ~~frequently~~ stated, as we all reported, that the only reason why they adopted this propaganda within the party was for the purpose of destroying the party and not with the view of getting the case before the Convention.

COMRADE HENRY: I want to speak for what I believe has been the sentiment in our state. When I come to the convention I always like to try to represent my comrades, whether I personally agree in one particular position or no. I have noticed, I think, that a number of comrades from various sections do not attempt at all times to represent what the membership thinks best. Now, I was in favor, from the start, that if these comrades had committed some act that were unconstitutional, or at least the committee thought so, that this matter ought to have been brought to the Convention, and let the Convention decide the entire matter. In many cases the National Executive Committee or a few comrades may take action like in this case, whether it is justified or not. Presuming that

it was not justified, presuming that what he had done was entirely unjustified, the fact remains that these comrades were put out of the party, and that it has naturally disorganized them and caused prejudices and dissensions that could have possibly been eliminated by the Convention. I did not hear this supplemental report; I was in the committee meeting. I don't say that the National Executive Committee did not act honest in this Convention in thinking it was doing the right thing for the party. The same thing is true with reference to referendum business. When I reported my referendum from Indiana I was satisfied there was some work that was not right, but I suggested that the National Executive Committee count the ballot as I sent them in from the state and report them, and anything that seemed to be irregular should be brought to the Convention, and let the Convention decide it. I have been told by a number of comrades of this particular left wing group --- I am not a member of the left wing and never subscribed to the tactics of the left wing. I am a right winger. I am just simply an International Socialist, as I understand it. (Applause) I don't believe in wings. I want the whole bird, and when I get the whole bird I will

get the wings, feathers and everything that goes with it. But the proposition was this, if the entire matter had been left to the Convention, I am satisfied that the Convention would thrash it out. As I say, I have been told by a number of comrades that they would be glad, and would have insisted on some of this rottenness that they knew was rotten work in the referendum, being straightened out in this Convention. And I believe it could be straightened out in the Convention. It is true, that there is some of our members, or ex-members, rather, of the left wing fashion, that seemed to get very bitter and took action, and they did take action that I think was thoroughly unconstitutional, action that I was not satisfied at all with. But in my state the State Executive Committee and myself as State Secretary, felt that if we stayed out of the fight in the state organization and we followed the dictation of the National Executive Committee, the best we could hope was that the entire matter would be straightened out in the Convention. We refused to get mixed up in it. We did not like the comrades in Ohio or some other state that had state papers, and got together and use their state papers to sway the membership in any one particular direction, which I think was a great

mistake on the part of the comrades who has that particular power at the time, and that is what caused all this trouble. You will remember the fact that we haven't had a Convention for so long, that there has been many changes in the general development of things the world over, and we could not wait until the convention met to make decisions. I don't want the National Executive Committee to have too much power, to revoke charters and to put fellows out of the organization and disorganize things, until the Convention or the rank and file have a chance to decide what is or what is not to be done. In our state we never do that. We always leave it to the Convention and the rank and file.

COMRADE DREYFUS: I want to say at the outset that I am not a left winger and intend to stick to the party even if every member of the German federation will get out of the party. I don't care. But let me tell you that the National Executive Committee made the biggest mistake of its whole term by acting the way it did in this crisis. It is true that it might be a judicial report but I don't think that we should render a judicial report for a Socialist Report. The members of our party are not guilty; they are not loyal; they are just common workers; and by the act of the National Executive Committee they

are driven away from the party. You have by this act not only driven away the foreign federations, members of foreign federations, but English branches just as well. They say and they repeatedly say, that every one has a right to his opinion, and every member of the party has a right to his opinion, and in a Convention assembled you can decide which way you want to vote. Now, of course, you say they put themselves out. They are out of the party and with the left wing programme. They put themselves out of the party by acting, for instance, as the Michigan Comrades acted. That is just where I differ from the comrades in treating these comrades that way. They might have endorsed the left wing programme with the intention of coming here and fighting for the left wing programme. They had the intention of bringing us to a decision here. Instead of saying, "Endorse" they say, "We adopt". They are not lawyers as I said, and the members in the country didn't know, they never knew why they were expelled." Here are the leaders of the different factions, leaders of the different federations, and they are told, "You are expelled because you differ with the National Executive Committee." It was the poorest thing that I ever saw. Nobody could get wise on it.

Nobody knew what they meant by this letter that was sent out. Every one that did not agree with the National Executive Committee would simply be thrown out, if they had the power to throw them out; of course, they couldn't throw the whole party out, but they threw out whcever they could throw out. I say, even the Constitution is not clear on that point, and even if the constitution had been clear, they should have given the membership a chance to express themselves. To the devil with the translator secretary. They are not the membership. To the devil with the state secretaries of Minnesota and Michigan, and any wheres else; they are not the membership. Therefore, the National Executive Committee should have said; if they had the power to do, "This is what you did against the spirit and the wording of the constitution. Now, we give you a certain time limit, within two weeks or three weeks, to put this question up to your membership, and if your membership oppose you, then we know where the membership stands, and then we can expell them." But not upon the word of a man. This whole trouble within the Socialist Party could be prevented. It is all right to say that the National Executive Committee was absolutely correct, but

the membership has a different following, and we have taken this following into consideration, and then after this Convention we could go out and could say: "Now, here this is the work of the Socialist Party. Stick to the Socialist Party because every one did get a fair trial, and a comrade's trial and a Socialist trial, and not a judicial trial.

COMRADE PECK: I came here for information, whether the left was right or the National Executive Committee was right. The information that I have got since I have been here looks very much like the left wingers were wrong. It looks like they bolted the Convention. They never offered to bring in any evidence at this Convention to show that they were in the right. The reports that we have got from the National Executive Committee shows that what action they took they took merely for the purpose of keeping the organization together. Now, if the left wingers had gotten in here and you would have allowed all states to be represented, I actually believe that your Convention here would be broken up and we would have no organization, for the simple reason that the left wingers show on their face since we started this Convention that they have been trying in various ways to

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break up the organization. In my state as a whole I don't know whether we have any controversy. One of our delegates, a personal friend of mine, is sitting here today as a visitor. I never made any protest to him to be seated because I really thought he wasn't entitled to a seat here, and he is not a left winger either. He is a real American Socialist and wants to be with the Socialist Party. I never made any kick for him to be seated for the reason that I didn't believe he was entitled to be seated, and I voted for some others to be seated in which there was probably some doubt in my mind, but I would like to have seen the left wingers seated here and bring in their evidence and their report and show us whether they were innocent or whether they were guilty. Now, to take it as it is, I believe the National Executive Committee should be upheld in the stand they took because I believe they did it for the purpose of keeping this organization together, and I don't see any reason why we should take any other action only to accept their report.

COMRADE KRUSE: I find myself in hearty agreement with Comrade Solomon of New York when he said it was entirely unnecessary for those who want to uphold the action of the National Executive Committee to take the floor. I

think he is right. I know what the vote on this question is to be. I believe we knew that on the first day of the Convention. We know where we stand pretty well. I don't think there should be two hours spent on this discussion. I feel that this report and this motion should not be adopted; at least without some reservation. I believe it will be adopted without any reservation. I don't doubt for one moment that the National Executive Committee had a legal right under the Party Constitution, and especially under that interpretation of the Party Constitution, to do just exactly what they did. But I do doubt very seriously their wisdom in taking their action in the drastic form in which they took it. I believe the N. E. C. was very ~~unwise~~ unwise in taking this drastic action because by taking that stand they confused the issue. The National membership wanted a National Emergency Convention for the purpose of getting clear on principles, and not on personality, but by taking the action which you did you put the whole matter on a personal basis, and the question came as to whether one delegate made the right kind of motion or another made the right kind of speech. If we could have had a Convention here and have a hearing on the question of which principle

was right, the principle of the left wing, the principle of the center or the principle of the extreme right, I believe that this would have been a thoroughly worthwhile Convention in every way, and a split would not have occurred the way it did. I am convinced of that. But as it is, this Convention amounts more or less to a right wing caucus and the other convention amounts to more or less of a left wing caucus, and that is all we have today. And, when you holler about their bolting the Convention, I think the responsibility must be centered in two places and not one. It is impossible in any speech of five minutes to cover all the points of the report. As to the referendum, if the referendum was irregular, it was the duty of the secretary right then and there to tell them that it was irregular. You talk about a fair trial. Who was the prosecutor in that trial? The National Executive Committee. Who was the jury in that trial? The National Executive Committee. Who was the judge in that trial? The National Executive Committee. And who was the executioner? The National Executive Committee. (Applause) I don't care a hang whether the action was legally justified or not. I feel, for the sake of the Party, and by Party I don't

mean this little body of delegates here, for the sake of those thousands of Jim Hogans who are just a little bit in the muddle on this question, and you have contributed to that muddle by your arbitrary and drastic actions, I want to ask on behalf of those thousands of Jim Hogans out there that you give them a fair and square deal, and solve this question of principle. I didn't bolt this convention. I don't intend to. I will stick here and I will stick to the Party to make the Party what I think it ought to be. (Applause) But, comrades, I want to say that there are a great many members who really think very much as I do, and many of the comrades are going to be misled by the expressions induced by such unwise action as the National Executive Committee has been guilty of. I feel you should have left the doors open to these federations to come back if they wanted to come back. Don't convict them before they get a hearing. Don't say they have gone with the other crowd. There are thousands of comrades just as true as any of those in any of the organized branches. Don't forget that. There are thousands of comrades who stand just as true to the principles of sane Socialism, just as true to the principles as we are going to espouse here today, there

are thousands of those comrades that want to be in the Party but if you persist in putting up such an attitude they must take their stand on a question of principle, but they will take their stand on the question of whether you did right or not.

COMRADE PANKEN: I am glad that Comrade Kruse has put the proposition before us on a question of principles, and that is just how this matter ought to be disposed of by this Convention. It is not a question of any technical provision of the Constitution. It is not a question of a judicially prepared report upon which you are to act. It is not a question of a lawyerlike construction upon a proposition that ought to control this Convention. The question that you ought to determine is, what were the real issues in the case before us. That is the question, and I am glad that Henry and Kruse and the other members, who did not agree with the report of the National Executive Committee, had stated to this Convention that the National Executive Committee had every justification for their act, for the expulsion and suspension of the States and the Language Federations. But they say that it was an unwise act; that it wasn't good policy; that it wasn't good tactics to do that. What

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happened in the Party? There was a difference of opinion. Comrades on the one hand and comrades on the other had come to the conclusion that there ought to be a revision in the policy of the Party and in the programme of the Party. Some comrades went to a certain extent; other comrades went further than that crowd of comrades. They went to the extreme. Now, you are to judge the action of the National Executive Committee from just that view point and that view point only. What are the facts? If you want to know what the facts were, you have got to inquire as to what the facts are. And what are the facts? When these Language Federations were suspended from the party, did they make any attempt to remain within the party? Did they make any attempt to plan to come before the National Convention and present the National Convention their point of view? No. Several Language Federations sounded a call for another Party; for the organization of the Communist Party. When Coldwell came into this Convention and he took the position with the extreme left, and he bolted the Convention, even before the Committee on contests made its report, I spoke to him afterwards. He said the reason he had bolted was

because he didn't want the report of the National Executive Committee to be acted upon before the Committee on Contests should report. I pointed out to him, even before the Committee on Contests reported, and after the Convention asked for the National Executive Committee report, and had it ready before this Convention, --- he told me that he had made a mistake and that he had gone downstairs to the left wing, and I am informed today that yesterday he left the Convention of the left wing organization, and on the floor of that convention he said that he won't tie up with a crowd of anarchists. His position is to remain with the Socialist Party. If they are not Socialists they should be here. They are not Socialists. They have organized a Communist Party. They have organized a non-political organization, and they have no place in the Socialist meeting.

COMRADE HALLER: The membership of the Party in Maryland, to a very large extent, entertains that feeling. It was based, of course, upon insufficient information. It was based upon information that trickled through in language that was vile; circulars and papers that had teeth and claws, bloody ^{teeth} and bloody claws in it. So strong was my sympathy and my feeling in the matter that

it must have emanated from some of the members down below. I have heard this report. While I haven't changed my mind on that subject, I have come to the conclusion that the only thing we can do and the thing we must do, is to sustain the action of the National Executive Committee. (Applause) Now, as to the Constitution, if we had no Constitution, every organization has an inherent right to protect itself and save itself from destruction. (Applause.) And in the absence of the organization, its representative, its National Executive Committee, must carry out its will. We are all going to agree I think, or practically all agree, that we must support that which the National Executive Committee has done, that these Language branches and State branches had ridden themselves out of the Party. The question comes up, raised by Comrade Askeli, as to whether it was down in legal form. Of course, in such a matter as that lawyers, I take it, --- take me, a lawyer, we lawyers are apt to lose sight of the substance in following the manner of procedure. We are apt to think there should have been a Bill of Complaint, and Answer, a Reply, Rebuttal, and Sur-Rebuttal, and that when we came to a hearing that there should be rules of evidence, and

so forth. There is hardly ever a case when a man is accused of something, but what he knows what he is accused of. These people know what they were accused of; it is necessary, of course, it is fair, generally, to give notice, even when they know, but there is no claim made here that the Language Federations and the States don't know what they are accused of. There is no claim made that they didn't know the interpretation, and the only interpretation that could be put upon the sections of the Constitution upon which these accusations were made. They didn't claim that they had a defense. There is no claim made on that point, or on that score at all. So that you might say, and justly say, that the judgment against them stands by confession. Sweeping aside all matter of procedure, the substance of the matter is that they violated the Constitution of the Party. They went forth for the purpose of disrupting the party, honest in their opinion and honest in their conviction, thinking the party no longer stood for what they thought. They went forth to do that, and they knew what the consequences would be. Of course, our membership is wrought up on this subject in Maryland

as they are in other places; and, if we say that the National Executive Committee in some instances indulged in rough shoeing, the same thing can be said of the others. There was rough shoe methods on both sides of the matter; still we have no right to condemn one any more than the other. It seems to me that the Constitution means as I have stated that you have got to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee. One comrade today said to me that was his view of it, but he said he is going to go home and tell his constituents that we gave the National Committee hell.

COMRADE MOILANEN: I think the National Executive Committee is really trying to do its best to conserve the Party. I don't question the honesty of the Committee. But I question ~~some~~ the wisdom of the action they took in suspending the Language Federation and the Michigan organization. Now, take the State of Michigan, for instance. There is always some local or group of individuals, rather, who cause trouble to the party, and who violate the party Constitution and Principle. The National Executive Committee, in suspending the entire state all at once, also suspended those locals that did not stand for the ~~xxxxxxx~~ illegal actions of these groups that I have mentioned.

I am sure that these different leaders in the left wing movement that were not honestly trying to convert these members of the party to their views would have left if that unfortunate action of the National Executive Committee had not been taken. Now, I feel that mass expulsion like that is a very serious thing. It is easy to say, "Expulsion". It is easy to say, "If you don't conform to my views, get out." And we will organize another party. That sounds fine, but when you have expelled the locals that I have been speaking about, you will find out how hard it is. Members who worked conscientiously for the advancement of the Socialists movement, feel that this action leads to no where. I feel that the National Executive Committee should have informed the Language Federations most carefully and in as many details as possible, of the action taken by their leaders, and then the Language Federations could have considered the issues, they could have passed on them, and then it would have been a comparatively easy matter to see just where they were. It could have been very easy, and I am sure that these radical leaders, or anarchist leaders, as some call them, would have been left out in the cold. The rank and file of the suspended Language Federations really should have

no other thought than that of advocating certain conditions resulting from a peculiar situation. The feeling of the Oregon Locals is against the Party simply because of this position of the National Executive Committee. Up to that time we didn't know very much about the left wing in the West. They tried to conform to the Party Constitution, and rules and regulations laid down by the Convention, and also by the National Executive Committee, but in this matter practically all the locals in the West have taken a positive stand, that the National Executive Committee was too hasty in expelling the Federations.

On motion, the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock.

Thursday, September 4, 1919,

2 o'clock P. M.

Convention called to order by Chairman Bausch.

COMRADE KASTOFF: The speakers so far have stated that the action of the National Executive Committee was not proper, and hasty. I would confine myself to the case of the State of Massachusetts. In the case of the State of Massachusetts, and in many other states, if the National Executive Committee didn't take the action that they did take, we wouldn't have had this Convention; for the simple reason that in the Massachusetts State Convention, the left wing, or a majority of the Russian Federation, adopted a left wing programme, and also elected two delegates to the left wing Convention. In order to clear that point, the Russian Federations last year increased their membership a great deal more than the English speaking branches; that the action of the State Secretary in most of the English speaking branches of the state, knowing where they stood, upheld the referendum. For instance, the American branch of the City of Springfield, was never sent the ballot with which to vote, but we had to borrow our ballots from the Jewish branch and the Finnish branch. In those

cases their aim was to disrupt the movement, and also to organize a Communist Party in the State, and that they did. Therefore, I think the action of the National Executive Committee was justifiable.

COMRADE WILSON OF ILLINOIS: I move as an amendment to the motion that it is the sense of this Convention that the supplemental report of the National Executive Committee be received; that the Convention concurs that the administration of discipline was necessary and justified, and I feel that, had the National Executive Committee made sufficient efforts to acquaint the membership of the suspended and expelled organizations with the facts and endeavored to have them repudiate their officials, that many of the members now outside of the Party would have remained in, and that the state organizations be permitted to re-charter branches of the suspended federations, whose members are willing to abide by the platform and Constitution of the Socialist Party.

Seconded.

COMRADE WILSON: It seems to me that the acts of the past are of the past. It is not going to do very much good to fight about whether the National Executive Committee had too much or too little wisdom. I think,

after everything has been said, and all the facts that have been developed here, that everybody realizes that something has to be done. You can't have an organization unless you have discipline, and, if you don't have discipline, if one fellow wants to do one thing, and some other fellow something else, you might just as well go out of business. From the time that this thing happened, I felt that the committee took the best course for the good of the Party that could have been taken, but the fact is that he took a certain course, and we are in a certain position, and I am more interested now in getting the Party back on its feet, and in getting those into the Party that want in this Party. I am not doing something here that may place obstacles in the road of rebuilding the organization. I want, in other words, to remove as far as possible every misunderstanding and to have this Convention make the best possible record before the Convention, because in the next sixty days you are going to have the fight of your life to put this movement on its feet again and make it what it ought to be. When the constitution committee reports, they will report certain changes, one of which will make conditions of this kind impossible in the future, if it is adopted.

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cally abolishing National Conventions and centering of power in the hands of a few men who have nobody to consult with, and who have to act, or there would be no action taken. I blame that system that was adopted in our last constitution more for this trouble --- the expulsions or suspensions I referred to --- than anything else. But I think, if this amendment or something similar to this, is adopted, when we go back to our people it is going to be easy to justify the actions of this Convention as compared with the rump left wing Communist Labor Party Convention, of the people that bolted out of here, or the so-called Communist Party that is now meeting at 1221 Blue Island Avenue. I don't see why any of us should put in any of our two by four ideas, or our personalities between the organization and its welfare, but that is what is going to happen if any of you people on either side of this discussion don't take the right attitude.

COMRADE BEARAK: I just want to state regarding the State of Massachusetts. The question this morning has been raised as to why the National Executive Committee was so in a hurry. With respect to the State of Massachusetts, our convention was held May 30, 31, and June 1st. At that Convention delegates were elected to the left

wing Convention to be held in New York on June 16. At that Convention a resolution was passed that no resolution, constitution, platform, or anything else be sent to referendum; but that instead, it be by mimeograph copies sent out to the locals, and the same be translated into Jewish and Finnish, and distributed thruout the state, so that the membership could read it. I want to say one more thing, that forty-eight Finnish comrades sent a protest against the adoption of the left wing manifesto, as it was adopted. A motion was made to adopt it, and a comrade asked for the floor to amend one of the paragraphs. Here is the resolution; in the official minutes printed in the official paper of June 10 you will find a protest signed by the forty-eight Finnish delegates who were there at the Convention. Now, here was the situation: They refused to give us the right to discuss the left wing manifesto. We had no right to vote upon it. They adopted it. That very convention decided what should go to referendum and what should not. They passed a motion, and instead of a referendum, it was mimeographed and sent out to the members merely for information. Now I say, that those of us who want to remain in the Socialistic Party, if we did not back up the action of the N. E. C., had the National Executive

Party not acted as they did, Massachusetts today would not have been at this convention, and we simply won't be represented in the left wing. But what did you do?

Soon after the National Executive Committee expelled the State they didn't wait but came to this Convention and held a contest upon delegates. They immediately called a State Convention and ~~boltd~~ out of the convention, and they find themselves in the Communist Party. One local in Worcester, which was the so-called left wing, came back into the regular party. I want to say that the National Executive Committee did the only proper thing in order to maintain the membership. Had not the National Executive Committee taken the stand it did, certain branches would have left the party anyway. Comrade Kostoff represented Springfield at the convention; he left. My branch was ruled from the convention. And if the National Executive Committee had allowed the Socialist Party of Massachusetts to change itself into a Communist Party, we would have been not where we are today. I say to you that the action of the National Executive Committee regarding Massachusetts, was absolutely justified, taking into consideration the acts done at the Massachusetts convention held last May and June.

COMRADE HOAN: I want to say a few words against the amendment offered by Comrade Wilson, that the doors now be left wide open for taking back into the Socialist Party the men and women who have attempted to stab this Party in the back under the plea that they now will accept the platform of this Party. It must be understood, that we have unanimously decided that a certain bunch of people so corrupted the ballot and the vote of our comrades as to vitiate the entire referendum of this Party. We have gone on record as saying that the entire referendum be set aside, because of the crooked work of the alleged Socialists. Some of us have heard that at the convention of the left wing yesterday they have taken off the camouflage of being Socialists. They have voted out political action. They stand now clearly before you for just what they are, "Anarchists." We should not throw open the gate to the men who will come before you and say, "We are Socialists, we accept your platform," and then proceed to stab you in the back at every turn in the road. This is the danger that confronts us. They have gone to the comrades and they have lied. They have come to us here with their proclamation, and they have lied. For what purpose? Are we now to take these men in for any

good purpose? It is our business to go back to the rank and file and tell them the truth. We should make a finding of fact summed up as follows: "That a conspiracy of crooks, spies and anarchists exists for the purpose of misleading the rank and file, and of corrupting and wrecking this Party. Is there any one here that can deny it? (Cries of "Yes.")

COMRADE WEISS: Yes.

COMRADE HOAN: The Convention downstairs has gone on record for anarchy, and you can't deny it. If these people put their heads together and say, "We are going to lie to the National Executive Committee, we are going to lie to all the rest of the comrades until we control this Party, and then we will run it to suit ourselves and wreck it," it is for you who have come here to look the facts in the face and send back to the comrades exactly what the facts are, that a conspiracy of crooks, anarchists and spies have set out to wreck this Party. (Applause). That is the truth. Your second facts of finding should be, that, if these federations and states had not been suspended, the purpose of this conspiracy in wrecking the Party would have been attained.

Is there anybody that disbelieves that, when they know that these men came on the floor of this Convention and intended by disorder and loud noise, and everything else, to take possession, and to call in the police officers of Chicago to see that only delegates properly accredited here could be admitted. Your third finding of fact is, that, because of this, and because of the admitted fact, no further trial was necessary or wise. We therefore commend the stand of the National Executive Committee, and I therefore offer that as an amendment to the original motion, to proceed, and the finding of facts be received. I hope we are not going to be led by soft words and soft soap and invigling facts.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: In the first place, I want to deny that the judicial report of the action of the committee was strictly a "Jew-dicial" report because I was the only Jew on that committee. I want to say, comrades, that the fundamental error of those that want to condemn us --- and where did you ever see an executive committee, or any kind of committee, that did the dirty work of any movement that wasn't condemned, especially you have looked upon our act as a punitive act,

whereas it wasn't the intention of any of the members of the National Executive Committee, so far as I know, to punish anybody. (Applause) It was purely an administrative act for expediency, and to save, if possible, a dangerous condition in the movement, and nothing else. (Applause) Now I want to ask those who are so charitable toward us to bear that in mind, and forget that there was any intention of punishing anybody. Examine the facts carefully and you will find we never intended to do anything of the kind. I will admit there was a certain amount of prejudice due to a great many conditions brought about by these people. I came from Kings County. What did they do with me, for instance, and the rest of us there? When we pleaded with the Convention to let us discuss the manifesto which contained a very revolutionary clause, a young fellow, who, by the way, enlisted in the navy --- he wasn't drafted but enlisted --- he said, -- take it as you can. I don't know that the word conspiracy can be used, but I don't know what other term you can use for that sort of persistent and consistent method that has been used every where to brow-beat Socialists that have participated in the movement for years and years. By whom? By fifty-two thous-

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and Russian comrades that just entered the movement within the first sixteen months, if you please, of the second Russian revolution. They stayed out of the movement and they came in only recently. With all these things, I will admit that possibly it wasn't absolutely the judicial thing that could be done, but I haven't heard from any of the comrades any suggestion as to what could have been done, to save the situation so that these people won't bring that Communist Convention over here and scatter us all over the world. That is the question. We were very careful. I remember having asked Comrade Stilson, and the rest of the secretaries who came there --- there were six or seven of them, --- Polish, Lithuanian and the others --- do you people speak in the name of your organization? Are you authorized to do it? Does Stilson have the right to speak? Yes. Do you want a stenographer? Yes. All right. We postponed action and secured a stenographer, so that he would have a full chance to do his work; for two days he was on the floor, and occupied most of the time of the session. He was given all possible opportunity to express his views, and he stated pretty good reasons at the time. I call your attention to the fact that the constitution says: "That no state and

or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization," if you please; not merely a political party, but any organization. In conclusion, I want to say that I am willing to accept the amendment. I am perfectly willing to stand for myself. I am not speaking in the name of the committee, but speaking for myself. I am perfectly willing to let you people even make goats of the members of the National Executive Committee if you think that you can save things. But, I want to tell you that, so far as these elements are concerned, men like Fraine, Stilson and John Reed who ^{supported} ~~opposed~~ Woodrow Wilson, men of that type you will never get into the movement without endangering

COMRADE BROWN: I didn't come here on the first day to play politics, and I am not going to play them today. I took the position before I came here, and I want to repeat it, that it was a mighty good thing for the Socialist Party that we have men on the executive committee who had backbone. If we didn't have that caliber of men, we would not be sitting here today (applause) and we might as well make up our minds to that. I want to say this: I know some of the comrades that are taking this position. I have confidence in all the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ in the world in their sincerity, and I believe in their honesty. I believe they are doing what they think is good for the movement, but I certainly do

thank God that it wasn't you kind of people that was on the executive committee when the crisis came on. And, I hope we will be out of this crisis after a while. And, I sincerely trust, when the new committee is elected, it will have people on it who have got the courage to say yes or no. I am not here to throw people out of the window, to play politics or to make a goat out of people. I am here to say, "were those people right?" or, "Were they wrong?" So far as I am concerned, I have had information enough to justify me in believing, to prove conclusively without any doubt, that they were right. It was the only thing that they could do. I have heard some people who possibly are now going to try to make goats out of them, saying that they were right. You are not going to help the party at all by attempting to condemn the executive committee. You are not going to keep the party at all to go back into your districts and attempt to say that the executive committee didn't do the right thing. One comrade stated it was our hope that we could come here before everybody, have Watterfeld, Fraine and all the rest, and lay the matter before the entire convention, and have a complete hearing of the whole proposition. In the first place, there was a very goodly sized crowd who made no attempt to come here, nor wouldn't come here if they had a chance. In the second place, I want to say this, that if

that crowd whom we are talking about had been in control of this convention, the reports of your committee would have never been allowed to be made in this convention. They would not have allowed it. They would not want to see their dirty work exposed before this socialist convention. For that reason, I am in favor of the original motion. Comrades, let us stand up; don't let's play favorites. Don't let's dodge any issue. Let's stand up for what we think is right and what we think is wrong. Let's have the courage to go back home and tell our people we honestly believed as right and what we believed was wrong. Don't attempt to go back there and mislead them. Tell them that the executive committee was right, and I honestly believe that, precluding one or two things, it was right. Don't go back there and attempt to mix the issue. You will only create confusion and you will have this fight continuing for God knows how long. But, leave this convention and go back home, irrespective of what your decision is, go back home and tell your people exactly what you think is honest, what you think is right and what you think is true. If you do that, you will have a movement, but you will never have a movement by attempting to straddle this question.

COMRADE ENGDAHL: I don't think there is any reason to get excited. The mayor of Milwaukee got excited, and everybody became anarchists all of a sudden once more.

I don't think that you can take 30 or 35000 comrades, who have belonged to the Socialist Party for a long time, and all of a sudden classify them into a group of anarchists.

COMRADE: The leaders.

COMRADE ENGDAHL: Their leaders may be anarchists, some of them, but it is the membership we are after. It is the thirty or thirty-five thousand comrades that we have to reach. Those are the ones we are trying to reach with this amendment, because, in spite of the conditions and the differences in the Socialist Party, and between the other organization that has split away, we have to carry on our struggle to reach the great membership of the working class. When these expulsions took place, when these suspensions took place, I could not believe that all of these comrades ought to be thrown out of the party. I come from a section of the city of Chicago where we have practically a branch of all the different organizations in the expelled federations. All of those organizations have members in my part of the city, and I went out and I talked to these different comrades. I said, "What do you think about it?" Why stand behind the officials of your federations? Is this the position that you are taking?" And, I told them I didn't think that that was the position they should or had taken, the position that had been passed up to the National Executive

Committee; because I know that those comrades, in every political campaign, had contributed from their pockets whatever they could; they had gone on and distributed literature on election day; they had stood at the polling places all day long in the effort to roll up a victorious vote for the Socialist Party. And, I tried to get all the information I could, with the result that in the Polish Federation, for instance, they told us that the translator-secretary was merely a temporary officer, that the executive committee in the federation was in disagreement with the position taken by the translator-secretary, and that they would hope that the National Executive Committee could at least have waited long enough until they could have elected a new translator-secretary. Here in the city of Chicago, we discussed the matter with the executive committee of the Slovak Federation, and, after discussing with them, we found or at least I found there was some disagreement among the executive committee of this federation. So, I could not help but come to the conclusion that the National Executive Committee would have done well to have gone over the heads of the translator-secretaries of these federations to find out where they stood; but, I feel, comrades, that this action has been taken. What we are trying to do now is not to look at the past. We are trying to build for the future. I am not afraid that, in this crisis, any anarchists are going

to come into the Socialist Party. I am not afraid that the anarchists are going to capture or try to capture the Socialist Party now, when they have such an excellent opportunity to capture the Communist Party or the Communist Labor Party. But, I ask of you, and I think that every opportunity ought to be given to the comrades who want to come into the Socialist Party and take their places with the rest of us. Even before these expulsions and these suspensions took place, there were branches of these different language federations which had already broken away. Here in Chicago, even in the Russian Federation, we had a branch that had broken away from their federation because of the position that the officials of those federations had taken. I feel that there are isolated branches of these different organizations, and, from the news I got from the other convention, there will be even isolated branches of your English organizations, that will hesitate for some time before they can sit down and find out where they really stand. I say that the amendment is not throwing open the doors too far for any one; the amendment shouldn't be to throw open the doors too far for any one in this convention. I say, by adopting the amendment, we will get all the real socialists

in the United States, (Applause) together under the banner of International Socialism. (Applause)

COMRADE QUINLAN: I think, when the matter was discussed a while ago, Comrades Panken and Solomon referred to the question of principles, and that it was not an individual matter. If you will go back to the time when the trouble originally arose, and it will be about the adoption of the St. Louis platform and the reception it got back home in some of the states and cities, it was because the St. Louis platform was shot full of holes by some of the delegates here that the trouble developed in some states and some federations, and some not many miles from the city of New York. Admitting there was one law for the comrades in New York, and one law for the comrades in other states, the different comrades who made up the federations, the comrades who made up what I call a lunatic branch, led by Comrade Fraine, , they considered that they, too, would take the law into their own hands, because we took the law into our own hands; to ignore the party discipline, and the St. Louis platform, and we shot it full of holes, and no one here can deny it, and that is the cause of all the trouble. Now, frankly, I don't believe in politics. If the National Executive Committee is right, let it be right, and let us endorse it. But, I ask those, who would ~~expect~~ support the National Executive

Committee and there by condemn the federations, should do so provided their own hands are clean. If you knew the position in New York, with reference to the left wing, you wouldn't waste time talking. They are just a bunch of lunatics to make trouble.. They don't believe in political action. I wouldn't consider the left wing. I haven't considered it. I know it too well in New Jersey and in New York. The point to consider is, shall you adopt the report as it is, or adopt it with reservations? I have an amendmend? I believe it should be changed, and give us a chance to sustain the committee, and at the same time tell them they did wrong and acted hastily. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: The two hours have closed now. (Applause) Comrade O'Neal will speak for the committee in closing the debate.

COMRADE VICTEerson: A point of information. On page 9, attacking the resolution of the state of Ohio, there is this resolution among them: "Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Committee in preparing to place the property of the Socialist party in the hands of a board of directors, tthree to be elected for three years, three for six years and three for nine yearsm these directors not being subject to recall either by the National Executive Committee or the membership of th Party, be reversed and

rescinded." Now, the National Executive Committee has nothing whatever to ~~say~~ say about this resolution. I would like to hear what they have to say about this.

COMRADE PANKEN: A point of information. The amendment before the house that Wilson has made may be acceptable to a great many of the delegates provided there is a change that can be made thereto. Is there any way of presenting that change to the convention? (Cries of "no.")

A COMRADE: A point of order. The chairman should look over in this direction once in a while.

COMRADE SCHLEGEL: A point of personal privilege. Pennsylvania has not occupied much of the time. I feel inclined that they should have an opportunity to be heard on this question; one of our speakers, especially. We have been between the barage of New Jersey and New York long enough. Let Pennsylvania have a little to say.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Comrade Oneal will report for the committee.

COMRADE PANKEN: Will you read that. I want to know whereby we can make some change in that amendment.

COMRADE BERGER: Vote it down.

COMRADE BAUSCH: I don't suppose we are all parliamentarians. I believe, if Wilson will get together with you on this proposition, and the comrade who seconded the amendment agrees with it and accepts it, O.K.

COMRADE PANKEN: I spoke to Comrade Wilson before I asked the question; otherwise I wouldn't have asked it. Wilson has agreed to accept a modification of the resolution.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: All right, you submit it.

COMRADE PANKEN: If you read the resolution, I have a substitute for a portion.

The secretary read the amendment of Comrade Wilson.

COMRADE PANKEN: In place of the last paragraph, Comrade Wilson agrees to accept the following: "that the incoming national Executive Committee shall reorganize the language federations".

COMRADE LAFIN: There is no provision in your national constitution for the National Executive Committee to organize any federation. That is purely a function of the state.

COMRADE ONEAL: The entire discussion on both sides here this afternoon resolved itself into a question as to whether the National Executive Committee acted wisely as it did, or whether it could have taken some action more wisely. Now, after all that's a mere matter of opinion. No human being can possibly tell what would have been the result if we had simply closed our eyes to gross infractions and violations of the constitution, and let all the various elements come into the convention and then tell

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what would happen. Nobody on earth can tell. It is easy enough for comrades to come into the convention after results are apparent, and then to predict that, had some other course been taken, the result would have been otherwise. It is a mere matter of opinion, and, from the very nature of the case, can be nothing else. Now, I went through this. There wasn't a single ~~member~~ member of the committee, when he came to face this situation, and especially when it came to the time for us to vote, there wasn't one of us but what felt sick at heart at the entire situation that was presented to us. I know what membership in the socialist movement means to comrades who give their lives to the movement. Many of the comrades in the language federations, and many of the comrades in the other organization, have been in the movement for years; some of them only a few years; but, they deeply feel and deeply value their membership in the organization. I don't know of any worse penalty that you can impose upon me than to have me face a branch or the executives of the party in any capacity upon charges of deliberately throwing you out of the party. I don't know but what I would rather go to jail or to the penitentiary than to suffer a condition of that sort. And, just because we felt that situation, that here were thousands and thousands of comrades, yet we were placed in a position where we had to face it,

and, if we did 't face it, the fight would have come from the other side, and you know that it would. (Applause)

Now, there was the question; it was a question as to which side was to do the fighting, and not whether we wanted to avoid any fighting at all. You all want to recognize this, that the Executive Committee wanted to conserve the party at the most trying period in all the history of the Socialist Party. And, I assure you here this afternoon, after my experience upon the Executive Committee, that you will never again get me on the Executive Committee, and particularly if we are facing a war. And, I feel sorry for the comrades who are going to take our place, for, in all probability, before their term is ended, they will have my pity. Now, that is the situation? We were placed in an impossible situation, and it was impossible for us to satisfy all, and we had to act, and we had to take this action. The thing, as I say, that made us so utterly sick at heart was to think that we had to take a position whereby many of the comrades were at least put out of the party temporarily until this convention met. That's the entire situation. I regret that there was the innuendo and the covert suggestion that it was politics, and so on. Comrade Kruse has been particularly offensive along that line on quite a number of questions that he has talked upon before

the convention, and particularly in this case. Comrades, I have never been a politician in the movement, and I hope I never will. I haven't tried to follow politics. I have tried to follow principles. I have tried as best as possible, and I am sure the other members of the committee have, to follow out your rules and your regulations laid down in the constitution. I am perfectly willing to assume that we have made mistakes here and there, but that is possible with any kind of executive committee. And, I will tell you that you have selected ten or fifteen of the best informed men in the socialist movement in the world. Not even Lenine and Trotzky would have been able to satisfy the comrades in the United States during this period. There are comrades in Russia who are all right and have been talking for months about Lenine and Trotzky being reactionaries. I am positive, if they were in the Russian Federation, they would have been expelled long ago in the United States. (Laughter) I have no particular objection to the amendment, even in its original form as presented by Wilson. I see no objection for us to adopt such a resolution, provided that we admit the branches of the language federations provided they endorse the constitution, the platform and the resolutions of the convention. After all, the same requirement is made of every state organization and

every Englishspeaking branch. Isn't that true? There is no reason why we shouldn't pass it, and I don't see that the amendment makes much difference. We, by no means, are the wise men of the movement. Not only that, no man you could have put upon the Executive Committee could have proven to the membership of the party that they were the wise men. It is impossible to do it. Now, the thing for us to do is to come to some agreement, and I think, judging from the temper of the convention, you are willing to accept this amendment. (Cries of "no" and "yes.")

However, you can decide it upon the vote. So far as I am personally concerned, I am willing to accept it. I have no objection to it at all. I only want to insist that we don't take this action without serious consideration. When we did have to face the situation, and we had to respond "yes" or "no" upon a roll call vote, there wasn't a man on the committee but what felt sick and disgusted. We didn't do it without estimating what the possible results would be. But, we did it because we felt that it was our duty; that we owed it to the membership, and that, as a result, we would have to take the consequences, and we are taking them here today. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH.: Before passing on the question---

(Cries of "Question.") It seems to be the sentiment of the house that we go to a vote.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: A point of order. My point of order is that, according to the rules adopted by this convention, the mover of a motion has a right to take the floor before the vote is taken. That's the rule.

COMRADE WILSON: I want to vote.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: It seems to be the sense of this convention--

COMRADE BECKERMAN: What is your decision?

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I don't know of any such rule being adopted. (Cries of "no.")

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I will ask the secretary to read that part of the rules.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: The secretary has stated that there is no such rule adopted.

COMRADE GLASSBERG, secretary: I will answer that. I have not the rules before me, but I will state, and I am quite positive, that there is no such rule. I rule, therefore, that the chairman of the committee has the right to close the debate.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I withdraw my motion in favor of the amendment. That's all I want to say about it. (Applause)

COMRADE VICTERSON: I call for information.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Sit down, please.

COMRADE BLOCK: A point of order. I am sorry that I have

got to waste time on a point of order, but I don't like to see ~~that~~ the secretary, chairman and perhaps the entire delegation ignorant of the rules which they have adopted on this floor. Rule No. 2, of the rules of procedure adopted here, reads as follows: "Speeches shall be limited to five minutes, except by unanimous consent, provided that the mover of any motion may have five minutes in which to close debate."

COMRADE KRUSE: A point of information. If we had a report of a committee, a motion to adopt the report, an amendment to the motion and an amendment to the amendment, each of these four people would have five minutes. Of course they would.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Comrade Beckerman said what he wanted to to say anyway. (Cries of "question ") The motion and the amendment will be put before the house. The secretary will read the motion and the amendment.

COMRADE NAGEL: I want a roll-call on the vote.

SECRETARY GLASSBERG: The motion made by Comrade Beckerman reads as follows: "I move that we concur in the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending the foreign federations specified, in revoking the charters of the states specified and withholding the referendum specified in this report." The amendment as made by Comrade Wilson

of Illinois reads as follows, unless, I take it for granted that Wilson accepts Comrade Panken's amendment, "I move as an amendment that it is the sense of this convention that the supplemental report of the National Executive Committee be received; that the convention concurs that the administration of discipline was necessary and justified, ^{but} ~~and~~ feels, that, had the National Executive Committee made a sufficient effort to acquaint the membership of the suspended and expelled organizations with the facts and endeavored to have them repudiate their officials, that many of the members now outside of the Party would have remained, and that the state organizations be not permitted to recharter branches of the suspended federations whose members are willing to abide by the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party."

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: That is the motion and amendment. A roll-call vote has been demanded on this proposition.

COMRADE KARLIN: A point of information. I want to know if this fact that Comrade Panken suggested on the floor materially changed the last part of that amendment?

SECRETARY GLASSBERG: I read the amendment as it now stands. It can't change anything.

COMRADE GERBER: I want to know how to vote. Are you going to put the motion as amended in case the amendment is carried?

559 CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Yes.

mittee; some of them perhaps will be withdrawn by those making them; some of them perhaps will come in the form of motions before the house. I would suggest, in bringing up such point, that the comrade will facilitate matters a good deal, and possibly facilitate them in more ways than one, by not speaking at unnecessary length and with unnecessary elegance on particular verbiage. That is a suggestion. I will ask the members of the committee to come to the platform so that we may be together, and where there are cases where suggestions are made, we will be in a position to act upon them quickly and save more discussion.

COMRADE BERGER: You realize that you could not appoint a committee that would draft a resolution that would satisfy everybody, but, ~~taken~~ all in all, this is as good as could be made under the circumstances. This is a proclamation to be sent to the American people and to the American Party, and we should not criticise German, British and Servian comrades. There are two sides to the question. We haven't heard from either side for that matter, except by the capitalist press. If the German comrades deserve criticism, and I believe they do personally, they will get it on the first occasion when the International will gather together. But it is not our

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: As amended.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: As amended.

SECRETARY GLASSBERG: The motion before us is the following: "That we concur with the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending the foreign language federations, in expelling the state federations and in holding up the referendum of Local Cuyahoga," plus the amendment which reads: "That it is the sense of this convention that the supplemental report be received, that the convention concurs that the administration of discipline was necessary and justified, but feels that, had the N. E. C. made a sufficient effort to acquaint the membership of the suspended and expelled organizations, with the facts, and endeavored to have them repudiate their officials, that many of the members now outside the party might have remained in, and that the incoming National Executive Committee proceed with the reorganization of the foreign language federations and the expelled state organizations."

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: We will go into a roll call on this motion. (Cries of "no." That has been demanded before.

COMRADE LULOW: I move that we vote on this motion by a show of hands.

COMRADE PANKIN: Under the rules we have adopted, it requires one third of the body to go on record as favoring a roll call. Nobody has asked a roll call.

COMRADE BERGER: In order to make it clear, let there be a roll call.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: All in favor of having a roll call on this proposition, do so by raising the right hand.

Motion for roll call adopted.

The roll being called, the motion, as amended, was carried, 95 votes being recorded in favor thereof, and 8 against.

COMRADE HOAN: I think the committee on resolutions is to retire to complete its work. I think it will shorten the proceedings if you call on Comrade Lee to ask whether he is ready to make a partial report.

COMRADE WEISS: I move that we take up the question of platform programme and principles, and dispose of that altogether before we go into the question of resolutions, because a good many delegates are going home tonight.

COMRADE LEE: The committee on party principles and International relations and Pan-American relations presents again a part of its report. We have two things to present at this time. One is a proposed manifesto, and is perhaps the principal work of the committee. I desire to state for the committee that this is not a campaign here and call attention to the fact that this is an

emergency convention, but it seemed to us to issue in this case, at any rate, a statement under the form of a manifesto, rather than a traditional and conventional platform. That draft, as prepared by the committee, will be read to you in a moment by Comrade Block. I desire to say first, that immediately after this, I will have one other resolution to report, and that your committee will have other work to do. With regard to the draft which Comrade Block will report, I shall say that I think every one of the fifteen members of the committee has had some share in criticising and amending the original draft upon which we worked, and criticisms and adjusting came also from various members outside of the committee, and I believe that the committee is unanimous in recommending the adoption of the draft, as it will now be reported. I yield to Comrade Block. Copies for the members are being made as rapidly as possible over at headquarters. I think they haven't come over yet.

COMRADE BLOCK: I will mention that the original draft upon which the committee worked was prepared and submitted by Morris Hilquist who, notwithstanding his inability and disability, devoted a good deal of time to the preparation of this statement for this convention, and the committee has made quite a number of changes in

it, and rearrangements in it, but there is a great deal still left of the original document. It is entitled, at the suggestion of the committee "Manifesto of the Socialist Party." I would like your undivided attention, not for my benefit but for the benefit of the convention. It is as follows:

(Cries of "Three Cheers for the Socialist Party".

Members standing and applauding.)

COMRADE BLOCK: In my capacity as a member of the committee I move, as a temporary chairman, the adoption of this manifesto by the Socialist Party.

Seconded.

COMRADE TRACHTENBERG: There is no question in my mind, Comrades, but that this manifesto will certainly bring back to the party those Socialists who were anxious to get back but who were deluded by obstructions and misrepresentations. As Delegate Block read very slowly and carefully, I was able to follow every line and word. I find three or four discrepancies which I hope the committee will accept. The first has reference to the various uprisings in the various countries, and our endorsement of those uprisings, and the fact that the Socialists of the various countries have taken the lead in the affairs of the world, and the affairs of their countries. It refers to the Russian and the Hungarian Socialists, and other Socialists, as having taken up their stands beside the revolutionary proletariat of those countries, but they refer, however, to the German Socialists as having proven themselves timid. That is not the

fact. The second reference is to the United States. In fact, we have here in the United States signs of development of a revolutionary spirit among the working class, and of the activity of the working class. It also refers to the formation of a labor party in this country. I think it would be unwise for us to endorse a labor movement because that is what it means; because, just as it is drafted, it would be an invitation for those comrades who are going out of the party to go into the labor party; that would give them an excuse. I don't think we should do that. I would like to have in that Manifesto, when it comes to America, and in protesting against certain actions of our Government, especially regarding Russia, I would like to see it follow right after Russia with a protest, an emphatic protest, against America's non-support of the allied policy of crushing Hungary. When we protest against the International policy of our Government, to protest following Russia, also protest against the allied countries entering Hungary, and destroying the Government there, and establishing Franz Josef in its place. Another correction, when we speak about protesting against the incarceration of class war prisoners, and demand their lib-

eration, I would like to add to the class war prisoners, the conscientious objectors.

COMRADE QUINLAN: I would suggest to the committee that the statement "British Isles" be substituted for "Great Britian", and in the next reference that the words "British Isles" be substituted for "England", as the Scotch and the Irish element might not take it kindly. While we here don't pay much attention to these differences, they pay a good deal of attention to them on the other side. Since this proclamation will be sent over there it would be well to leave out these terms and insert "British Isles" in their place.

COMRADE WALDEMAN: You read a paragraph on the first page or two about the division of the world into spheres of influence. You say Asia and Europe were forcibly parcelled out into colonies, "and so forth." Do not forget the American Continent when you enumerate Asia and Africa. I don't know whether we appreciate it but just now it is becoming clearer and clearer to the American people that Mexico and the rest of the Latin-American countries are being subjected and divided into spheres of influence by the United States, and perhaps other countries. Mexico itself realizes it more than any ~~xxxxxxx~~ other

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country, for the United States has established a dictatorship over Latin-America. They have perverted the Monroe Doctrine into anything to make Latin and Central America spheres of influence of the United States just as Morocco, Egypt and Turkey have become spheres of influence of the European country. When we establish a declaration which says that the world is being parcelled out to spheres of influence, we want to be sure that we don't lay open to the charge that we are leaving out the United States from being one of those imperialistic countries that has taken unto itself to do this. I think we ought in this case include Latin and Central America.

CONRADE BLOCK: This paragraph is the review of past history. That is all that that is.

CONRADE WALDMAN: There is no question in my mind that the troops were sent to Mexico, that the investments of our capitalists would be assured of safety.

CONRADE SOLOMON: I don't make the claim that the United States has parcelled out the American Continent. I do make the claim that the histories of America, such as Roland Usher in his Pan-Americanism, proves conclusively, that, beginning with the Monroe Doctrine, it was a very carefully laid plan on the part of the United States that

a consistent policy, from president to president, be pursued that the Latin and Central American Continent be gradually assimilated and become a protectorate and a sphere of influence of the United States. There is no need on our part here this afternoon, in adopting a declaration, saying that the world had been parcelled out to spheres of influence, and leaving the United States out. My next amendment is in that portion of the report where we say United States has made an alliance with the most reactionary imperialistic countries of the world. I believe that the word "most" should be stricken out and read "that the United States has made an alliance with the reactionary ~~and~~ imperialistic countries." I suggest these two modifications and assure you that the declaration is as strong a declaration as the Socialist Party of any country, no matter how revolutionary it may be, will adopt at this time.

COMRADE BLOCK: It will not be the first time that the rest of the world is left out.

COMRADE LEE: I hope no point of order will be raised at this time against this method of discussion. It is well we should go on for a while and get suggestions. Some of the suggestions perhaps can be accepted by the com-

mittee; some of them perhaps will be withdrawn by those making them; some of them perhaps will come in the form of motions before the house. I would suggest, in bringing up such point, that the comrade will facilitate matters a good deal, and possibly facilitate them in more ways than one, by not speaking at unnecessary length and with unnecessary elequence on particular verbiage. That is a suggestion. I will ask the members of the committee to come to the platform so that we may be together, and where there are cases where suggestions are made, we will be in a position to act upon them quickly and save more discussion.

COMRADE BERGER: You realize that you could not appoint a committee that would draft a resolution that would satisfy everybody, but, ~~taken~~ all in all, this is as good as could be made under the circumstances. This is a proclamation to be sent to the American people and to the American Party, and we should not criticise German, British and Servian comrades. There are two sides to the question. We haven't heard from either side for that matter, except by the capitalist press. If the German comrades deserve criticism, and I believe they do personally, they will get it on the first occasion when the International will gather together. But it is not our

business in a proclamation to be sent to the American people to deal with the German comrades. All we can do now is to send word to those proletarian parties that are in the ascendency. Let us encourage the German comrades in every possible way; not by criticism, but by telling them, if they should succeed or if they should not, to establish real Socialism as far as we can help them, that we shall do so. That is all we can do. The changing of a word here and there, will make very little difference, you will find. I am sure that the committee is more than willing to accept any suggestions that are reasonable. Let's don't waste too much time. Let everybody get that little hot air out of his head. Let's adopt this proclamation.

COMRADE ASKELI: I feeling like spilling a little hot air. I might say that the proposed draft is an excellent document. Fundamentally, it is correct and good in every way, and I will accept it; but I think that it is not a platform; I think it is a manifesto.

COMRADE BLOCK: That is what it is called. (Applause) It may save time when I inform you that in addition to this that there will be a statement of a declaration of principles. This is a manifesto.

COMRADE ASKELI: While on my feet I would like to say a few more words. I stand corrected. I was under the impression that this was our platform, our proposed platform. Manifesto and platform are different things, is my understanding. Now, this proposed manifesto is all right for scholars, students and professors in the English language, but it contains such words that the average man, like myself, are not acquainted with. I would like to see it simplified to some extent. The Russian congress have developed the art of platform writing and manifesto writing. They have simplified it so that everybody will understand it; every word in this manifesto and platform are so simple that even the comrades out in the rural highways and byways will understand it, and that is the way I would like to see our platform written; and furthermore, this proposed platform does not contain an unqualified endorsement of the Third International.

A COMRADE: That comes in another resolution.

COMRADE ASKELI: Why not contain it in that one? This referendum (b) --- the endorsement of the Third International was adopted by the rank and file of the Socialist Party by an overwhelming majority. Why not say it there? It will strengthen the manifesto very much.

CONRADE HOGAN: I hope that I shall be able to make myself clear in this matter, for I consider it very important. I hope you will be patient with me while I endeavor to do so. There is an unqualified endorsement in this manifesto of the soviet republic of Russia. Now, I am in favor of that. I think this convention ought to do that, but I think, at the same time, when we do that, that, in order that we may not be misunderstood, by the people of this country, that we qualify that endorsement, or rather, explain that endorsement, and give our reasons for making that endorsement by a statement of the vast difference between the psychology --- I don't like to use that word but I have to --- of the working class of this country and the working class of Russia. An endorsement of the soviet government of Russia, without an explanation of the difference in the situation, so far as this country is concerned, with respect to conditions in Russia, would be likely to put us in a wrong attitude before the American people. Let me go into details a little bit. With the second revolution and the accession of the soviet to power, and became in the ascendancy and control of the Russian forces of the Lenine and Trotzky government, there was a complete breakdown upon the part

of the military regime, the power of the military machine was in a large measure destroyed, but that is simply a phase of the Russian revolution. There is a psychology that belongs to Russia, and peculiarly to Russia that has been building in the working class minds for a hundred years. It originated in their method of cooperation, their methods of thought, remembering, first of all, that ninety-five per cent or eighty-five per cent of the Russian people are agrarians; that they have been practicing to some extent communism for many many years. While in this country the situation is absolutely reversed. Here in this country we have thirty-seven million perhaps who might be identified with the working class. Of that thirty-seven million, perhaps a little more than ten per cent of them are against any semblance of an organization; and of that ten or eleven or twelve per cent that occupies some semblance of an organization, perhaps one per cent of that ten per cent are class conscious and have the same thought processes of the eighty-five per cent in Russia. Here in Russia the Russian people are bound to the Czaristic government by three ties; rent collectors, representing the landlords; recruiting officers, representing the militaristic government; and the tax

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collectors, representing the Czar personally. These three ties that bound them to the Imperial government were tangible, could be seen, could be observed, and it did not require a college professor, it does not require that any one should be schooled or learned, in order that they may understand that all that was irreligious, wrong, immoral and unnecessary. Here it is different. Our working class in this country, with the exception of this infinitesimal, microscopic, diminutive, one per cent are taught to believe that, when a working man says that he is entitled to all he produces, in the first place, the college professor says he is a fool, that he is uneducated. The Sunday School superintendent and preachers say that is he immoral and irreligious, and the politicians and all of the presidents, the congresses, courts and judges say that he is so, and the working class of America desires to be regarded as being educated and as being learned, at least as not being a fool, and desires the same time to be regarded as moral and religious, and desire also that he should be regarded as a loyal citizen. I am talking about the masses of the workers of this nation. I am excepting perhaps one and a half or two per cent. Now, I beg that this committee on platform will put this qualifying clause into this endorsement.

of the soviet government of russia, calling attention to the fact that, because they have a soviet government in Russia, and because the revolution there is successful, it does not mean that now that a revolution may be successful in this country. And this would mean, in line with the other declarations in the manifesto, that, before the revolution can come, before we can emancipate ourselves, we must be organized economically and politically along class line. This is important, and it ought to go in there, or else we will be misunderstood and be placed in the attitude of demanding mass action on a revolution now, when we know, as a matter of fact, that we are not ready for it until we are organized.

COMRADE LAFIN: I had a little experience with platforms and I am very sorry to say that our platforms have never reached the people that we have particularly tried to reach. I suggest that this addition be made to it, wherein you refer to the capitalist just once, that you paraphrase it, as representing the interests of the capitalist class, if you say that capitalist means something that it is to the interest of the capitalist class, he will at least ~~xxxx~~ get that thought; and Socialism, where you refer to it, as representing the interests of the working

class. After all, it is the class interest that we are interested in to a great extent.

COMRADE WEISS: Referring to what the delegate said, I don't think we should fail to take an uncompromising stand on the question of Germany.

COMRADE HALLER: I think this is about the best document I ever heard. I want to make a suggestion. The manifesto opens up by saying, that the capitalists have been entrusted with the governments of the world. I think that it would perhaps be better, and it would be a stronger statement, and more in accordance with the facts of history, and with the science of government, if we, instead of saying that they were entrusted with the government of the world, should say, that they usurped the governments of the world, or some word of that sort. This may seem unimportant at first blush, but there is a very decided and important distinction in my mind in that. To say that one was entrusted, carries with it the implication that the masses of the people consciously, understandingly and intelligently gave to them the mandate of government. That idea is based upon the system of right, by a class of writers who were supporting

or were not supporting the present form of society; whereas, the truth of the matter is, and the scientific understanding of the formation of the states of society, is, that the state began of usurpation; that the highway robber himself constituted the state; and this is borne out by history~~xxxxxxx~~ You have the history of this country, and if you want a little more enlightenment upon it, you can read the history; So that this government began with the usurpation of power by the capitalist class, and they have retained that power by usurpation. Of course, they have told us, and many believe, that the masses of the people have a voice. But that does not change the fact that the capitalist class usurped the powers of government and holds the state. That is all the comment I have to make, and perhaps the committee will deem it worthwhile to accept it.

COMRADE BERLYN: There is one or two matters I want to object to in this document, not exactly object to, but to call attention to it. There are so many people who claim to be American Socialists. I don't. I claim to be an International Socialist. But when I am an International Socialist, I don't forget that I am on this side of the Atlantic, and when I show myself blind to what oc-

curs here, then I am certainly not an International Socialist. When we talk about the principle of imperialism, there are some things that are right close at home, that are completely overlooked. How is it that the absolute usurpation by violence of Haiti is not noted as an evidence of what capitalism means, and SanDomingo. The United States military and naval power went into SanDomingo and Haiti and destroyed self government for those people, and guaranteed our capitalists they would have cheap labor, and the troops of the United States would see that order was maintained. Why is that? I would not diminish one word of sympathy for Russia, but let us not forget our people on this side. Why isn't there a suggestion of that in this document? This is right close at home. You don't need to go seven thousand miles away.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Comrade Lee for the committee wishes to report at this time some of the things they have accepted, which will eliminate probably, some future discussion.

COMRADE LEE: First let me get it clear. I believe Comrade Berlyn's suggestion has specific reference to the case of San Domingo.

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SECRETARY GLASSBERG: And Haiti.

COMRADE LEE: So far, the committee quite agrees with Comrade Quinlan about substituting "Great Britian" in one place, and the "British Isles" in another for "England." The committee accept Comrade Trachtenberg's suggestion with regard to referring to the question of Hungary. The committee accepts Comrade Waldman's suggestion about Latin-America. The committee does not accept the suggestion of Comrade Waldman to strike out the word "most" and in saying that the United States has gone into an alliance with the reactionary powers of the world. It believes that there are no powers that are any more reactionary than England, France, Italy and Japan. (Applause). I hope that you withdraw that.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I will withdraw that.

COMRADE LEE: Some of the other suggestions the committee has under consideration.

COMRADE CARLIN: I would like to suggest to the committee that, in that part of the manifesto where it speaks about the thousands of millionaires that were made, and about the short-sighted American workers, that they leave out the word "American" there, for the double reason that, in one case, it will be a cause of irritation to

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the American worker because you point out the short-sighted American worker and not the others, and for the other reason that there are a certain number of American workers who are under the impression that the Socialist Party of America is a foreign organization.

COMRADE LEE: Should we say "Workers of the United States" instead of "American Workers"?

COMRADE CARLIN: No, it is not necessary; just say the short-sighted "worker", because you are addressing the workers of America, and not any others.

COMRADE LEE: That would entirely change the sense.

COMRADE CARLIN: I think "short-sighted workers of the United States".

COMRADE LEE: I think that may be tested. We may change the sentence in such a way to do that.

COMRADE CARLIN: In addressing the delegates, I should like to point out the inadvisability of taking up that part of Trachtenberg's suggestion which would compel the committee to insert into the manifesto the names of certain persons in the International movement. History is being made these days very very fast, and we don't know but that by the time this manifesto comes off the press, there will be such International changes in the politics of ~~xxxxx~~

Europe that it may be sorrowful ~~for us~~ to think that we wanted to dip into the criticism of Socialists of other countries for matters in which we personally never had the experience of going thru. It is one thing to stand on this side of the Atlantic and say, what I should have done if I were in their place, and it is another thing to say, what you would do if you were really doing it. Now, you read, and it is not denied, that on a certain day in Moscow, ^{anarchist} Russia/, working people were shot down. I would not examine the label of the working man, whether ~~he~~ was labeled anarchist, or any other ism, if it was a question of keeping up the working man's socialism. Whatever reason there may be for criticising certain other party leaders in Europe, this is not the time for us to give the final word. Let's be satisfied with the criticism that was stated in the manifesto. It is strong enough. So that, when the day comes, if the Socialist Party of America can be influential to bring about an~~x~~ International, that will be truly International, and will have all the Socialists of the world, don't let the Socialist ~~Party~~ of America at this time be the final judge. If we are to be the judge on the day when the final International is organized, the International that we are hoping for, let's not make our-

selves the judges at this time that we may have the opportunity when the real day comes to be the proper judges of the situation.

COMRADE AMERINGER: I shall be very brief. I am for this document as prepared by the committee because on the whole it is excellent. There never could have been any document written by a mad meeting. Now, when that document was read to you, you went crazy, you went wild. You were up in the air. It had the proper effect. There may be weak spots in it. There are weak spots in Beethoven's Symphony, and there are weak spots in Hamlet, and there are weak spots in Raphael's Madonna, and there are weak spots in Venus of Milo. (Laughter)

There never was a work of art that could not be criticised in detail. You must take the document as a whole. I am only talking this because I am a writer.

COMRADE BERGER: You are a good one.

COMRADE AMERINGER: My friend Berger says I am a good one. If I had written this document myself it would be different.

COMRADE BERGER: You bet. They would not have accepted it.

COMRADE AMERINGER: I would throw a joke in here and there, according to my nature. But I think this is a dignified document; it is full of fire and enthusiasm. It expresses the feeling and sentiment of the Socialist Party of this country. Why do you want to tinker with this word here and this word there? Please don't do it. Go and accept this document as it comes from the hands of the committee. It is about as near perfect as any committee can make it. (Applause.)

(Call for the previous question)

COMRADE GERBER: I move the previous question.

(Seconded)

COMRADE BATTISTONI: I never had a chance to say a word.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: The previous question has been called for.

COMRADE LULOW: A point of information.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Kindly be seated, Comrade Battistoni.

COMRADE DREYFUS: How can it be made possible that we cease discussion and adopt a motion for a previous question and wait until we have this document in our hands before we wrote. I never have seen the document.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: The chairman of the committee wants

to make a statement.

COMRADE LEE: On behalf of the committee --- I know it is strictly out of order --- I ask that you don't vote the previous question at this time. It would be in the opinion of the committee, a most unfortunate thing. I think any of you can imagine how that would appear to read thruout the country. It may be that an overwhelming majority are now prepared to vote for the draft as it stands, or on certain amendments, but I would be very much against closing the question at this time. As to the question of copies, it has not been possible to get copies for all the delegates. I think you know the condition under which the National Office has been working, being very shorthanded. I think you will also realize the nature of this convention, the fact that it has not been possible to get thru with our work earlier than this. We completed our work this morning. It has not been possible to get copies. As to whether the convention would wish to lay action over after a certain amount of discussion this afternoon until tomorrow, and then have copies before you, that is another matter.

(Let's get thru now).

COMRADE GERBER: It was my intention in moving the

previous question to shut off this discussion we have now, but I have a motion that the whole document be referred back to the committee, and if the comrades have any suggestions to make, to go before the committee and make them.

(Seconded)

COMRADE GERBER: For that reason, if you wish more time, in the discussion, we will not have time to take up the report of the Constitution Committee, and you will have nobody here.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: That is a motion to recommit.

COMRADE BLOCK: It seems to me we are wasting more time by referring this document back, because everybody wants to change a word, a comma or period, will appear before the committee. It seems to be the general opinion, that the document in substance and form, is in the main satisfactory. (Applause). The committee has heard a number of suggestions as to some editorial revision, most of which or many of which suggestions are good. Why not adopt this thing now, and I hope unanimously, and leave it to the committee to revise it in some little ways by correcting a word here and there.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Comrade Gerber, will you accept that

instead of the previous question, ^{on} ~~and~~ a motion to recommit?

COMRADE GERBER: Absolutely; anything that will take this off the floor at the present time.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: A motion has been made and supported that this matter be recommitted to the committee and report back to this convention. (Cries of "No.")

COMRADE PANKEN: I understand that the committee has considered most of the suggestions made.

COMRADE BLOCK: Yes.

COMRADE PANKEN: And accepted a good many suggestions.

COMRADE BLOCK: Yes.

COMRADE PANKEN: If you recommit this proposition to the committee, the committee will have to come back here and report again, and read it again, and by that time somebody will find another word to change, and we will go over the same thing again and again. I am of the opinion, Mr. Chairman, that the thing to do is this: That we adopt the Manifesto as read, with the suggestions accepted by the committee, and let the committee go back and make a revision, and before the convention adjourns let each delegate have a copy of the revised Manifesto. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: You make an amendment to that effect?

COMRADE **PANKEN**: Yes. The important thing is the ques-

tion of principle that is involved in this Manifesto.

On the question of principle there is no difference. Of course there is a difference on the question of wording.

I move an amendment that we now proceed to vote on the Manifesto, with the understanding that the suggestions be considered and that the committee revise it, and give each delegate a copy before the committee adjourns.

(Seconded)

COMRADE CARLIN: I move that the motion to recommit be tabled.

COMRADE PANKEN: That is an amendment to the motion.

COMRADE TRACHTENBERG: Point of order. When I made my suggestions, I thought that was the understanding that we would first have a general discussion on some of the suggestions. I didn't make any specific motion. Had I known otherwise I would have made them and have the body to act upon them. I am willing to appear before the committee but I also want you to consider the fact that these are not editorial corrections but rather questions of principle, Comrade Panken, on which I am very much concerned.

COMRADE VICTERSON: I understand from Comrade Lee that the committee is going to accept the suggestions in-

plied in Comrade Waldman's amendment that the Monroe Doctrine was in its inception, and Imperialistic Doctrine.

COMRADE LEE: No, we are not going to put in anything like that, like the Monroe Doctrine. That was part of Waldman's speech.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Are you ready for the question? The amendment comes first. The secretary will read the amendment.

SECRETARY GLASSBERG: I will read the motion made first: "That we recommit the Manifesto to the committee, which shall report back to the convention. The amendment made by Comrade Panken is, that "We now vote on the Manifesto and that the committee revise editorially wherever necessary, and supply us with a finished document, and read it at the close of the convention."

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: You have a right to appear before the committee. All in favor of the amendment, which means to adopt now and the various comrades who appear before the committee with any necessary corrections they have to put in, will indicate in the margin.

(The Amendment carried)

SECRETARY GLASSBERG: I have a telegram to read from one of the state organizations, which was seated here, the delegates of which left. It is from Branch 3 of the

Socialist Party Local, Providence, R. I.:

"Branch 3 of the Socialist Party Local, Providence, R. I., congratulate the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party of America, and we wish you success in your endeavor to create a strong and harmonious organization that will be able to cope with present day conditions and represent the best interests of the working class of America and the world. We are with you, comrades, and you may depend on us to carry out your decision."

J. Rothenberg, Sec'y.

SECRETARY GLASBERG: Another telegram from the Assembly District 17, New York City:

"Greetings. Carried. Heartiest congratulations for a successful convention and a united Socialist movement."
(Applause)

COMRADE LEE: I think I will announce, and the members of the committee will agree, that the committee will meet again at 7:30 tonight at headquarters. They may have a large amount of other work to do, and I suppose that it will be well that those who wish to make further suggestions or to explain suggestions, should be there so that matter can be taken up at the very start of the session.

I hope that the committee members will all be present at that time, whether the convention is in session or not. The other part of our report that we wish to submit at this time has to do with the matter of a platform for next year. I referred to this matter before. I think the whole of the committee approves this general idea that, instead of a platform modeled on an American Political Platform, we should have a standing declaration of principles. (Applause) The committee has made an attempt, so far as it was possible in the couple of days, to provide for that need for the present, but it demands that we ought to work that out with more care. The committee expect that in every campaign here we will issue a campaign Manifesto dealing with the situation. I will read the resolution which is a resolution of procedure for the Party.

"Resolved, that this convention shall elect, not necessarily from its own members, a committee of seven, whose duty shall be to prepare drafts of a declaration of principles, and the working programme, and such drafts shall be completed and put into the hands of the National Executive Committee secretary, not later than February 29, 1920, and he shall then forthwith cause them to be printed in the Bul-

letin and in the Socialist Press generally in order that the membership may have ample time to study and consider it, and they shall be put on the Order of Business of the National Convention of 1920 for adoption, amendment or rejection."

In making this provision the present convention contemplates the adoption next year of an adequate and authoritative statement of our fundamental principles, which will not need to be periodically rewritten, but it will be useful at all times, and not merely during the campaign, (Applause) and the use of which will be made obligatory upon State and Local Subdivisions as well as upon the National Organization of the Party, to the exclusion of any other statement of principles, that is, an authoritative statement of principles. And also, the committee aims that the adoption of a National Working programme for use in the campaign of 1920, and for the guidance of Socialist Congressmen who may be elected in that year, which programme will of course be subject to revision in future campaigns. This convention contemplates also the adoption of a campaign Manifesto in 1920, reviewing the National and International situation, as it may then present itself. And we suggest,

if this motion is adopted, that the committee of seven be elected by the Convention, in order to save time, at the same time as the election of the National Executive Committee of this Convention, so that we can carry on the two at the same time. I hope that the motion will be adopted. What the committee hope is to report a very brief statement of Socialistic principles, and what Socialism is, to be used or to be incorporated as a preamble to the Constitution. That is our suggestion, and it will be our suggestion for this year.

CONRADE WALDMAN: I want to further explain it by asking the chairman of the committee a question. I agree with the resolution, but one of the issues that our party is fighting for today is, what are our people going to do in the case of immediate demands in the case of a ^{practical} ~~paroxysm~~ programme, and this has been as much a bone of contention as the Third International. Now, if this convention will adjourn, for instance, without having any sort of working programme, which would indicate clearly what the condition of our party is, and what the expression of this convention is, that would be a deliberate evasion of the responsibility of the delegates to this convention. I want to ask whether it is contemplated by the committee

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to merely prepare a preamble for the constitution and leave the entire matter of a working programme or platform go this year.

COMRADE LEE: I think the committee's conception of it is this: This is not a National campaign here; so far as the National fight is concerned, there is no occasion, there is no occasion other than in a campaign here for a working programme, which is called a list of immediate demand, and I think very misleadingly so-called, by proposing the formulation of a working programme for next year, we certainly imply that this convention does not advocate the abandonment of a working programme. We do not see the occasion for adopting a working programme in 1919.

COMRADE BERGER: If the suggestion of the committee is to work out a campaign book, if you want to get the right kind of book, you will have to work on it right now. It takes months to compile it.

COMRADE LEE: The committee has not considered that, but I think that that is just the matter that would have to be done. It could hardly be done by a committee of seven living in different parts of the country.

COMRADE BERGER: I think that the National Executive

Committee should take such action.

COMRADE BROMSTEIN: I desire further information. Does that mean that various counties, that are going to have political campaigns this year, will be left to themselves to draft a working programme?

COMRADE LEE: I don't know whether the convention would have to draft a working programme for the State of Illinois, or any other state, with respect to issues which so largely differ in different states.

COMRADE LEE: The committee certainly considers, -I believe, or a majority of the committee, and a majority of the convention will consider, that the party does not and this convention does not desire to stand committed to the idea that the party, either the National or State organizations, are forbidden to declare their position upon any issues in which many perhaps are interested, and upon which our members, if elected, have to vote.

COMRADE LULOW: I move that this question be postponed until we hear the preamble to the constitution.

COMRADE LEE: I would ask you to withdraw that. We consider that the idea of drafting a declaration of principles, which would bid fair to be a permanent thing, is something that cannot be done in two or three days in the

heat of convention. There is need right now for a good
a brief statement of Socialistic principles as we can make.

COMRADE LULOW: Another point of information. Well,
should it be left to each and every Local to work out its
own programme and platform in this particular coming cam-
paign?

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Are you speaking of a declaration of
principles or a working programme?

COMRADE LULOW: A working programme.

COMRADE LEE: I think it says, that now, as in the past,
the various states and the various locals have the right
to make their working programmes for that specific cam-
paign.

COMRADE WALKIEL: I would like to ask Comrade Lee
whether the committee on resolutions will bring in any
statement as to our position with reference to immediate
demand.

COMRADE LEE: The committee will consider it, and
advocate a resolution on that point.

COMRADE BLOCK: The committee did one thing last night,
and that was that they were unanimously of the opinion
that we should entirely abandon the expression "immediate
demands," inasmuch as we are an "immediate" party and not
an ultimate party. Personally, I feel that, in this

statement of principles that we may well include those general measures that obtain in our party in all states at all times.

COMRADE LEE: I will promise that I will bring before the committee tonight the idea that Comrade Malkiel wants, a resolution that will definitely say, whether or not we stand for the abolition of a working programme.

COMRADE PANKEN: There are many states and many municipalities that have political campaigns coming on during the next few months. I would like to know whether any provision has been made by the committee to cover that situation.

COMRADE LEE: Cover it how?

COMRADE PANKEN: Let me express myself. The consensus of opinion, as I gather from the delegates, and from the party membership, is that there should be a uniform declaration of principles for the party, and that no subdivision of the party, whether a state organization or a municipal organization, can adopt any declaration of principles or any platform.

COMRADE LEE: Yes.

COMRADE PANKEN: Now, the declaration that the committee brings to the convention at this time, a declaration of principles by the Socialist Party, won't be ready, as I gather

er it now, long before its possible use during this present campaign upon which we are entering. Has any provision been made to cover that proposition?

COMRADE LEE: You just spoke of the question of a working programme in some municipalities.

COMRADE PANKEN: Yes. We may find ourselves in this situation in some towns and some states possibly --- I hope not --- where a state organization will adopt a working programme. Would it be a violation of Socialist tactics and Socialist principles?

COMRADE LEE: Undoubtedly.

COMRADE PANKEN: No doubt, we have in the past found ourselves, in past elections, we have a declaration of principles for the comrades to control and guide their action. Then we can take action if they violate it.

COMRADE LEE: I think I have already answered it. We don't think we can make a satisfactory declaration of principles in a couple of days in the convention.

COMRADE PANKEN: Is there any possibility for a declaration of principles to be submitted to the party membership for referendum in the next few weeks?

COMRADE LEE: I am of the opinion that this would be entirely determined by the plan that the committee proposes. We will try to do it in a few weeks.

COMRADE BERENBERG: It seems to me that the comrades are laboring under a delusion. The committee has prepared as a preamble to the constitution a declaration of principles; since, however, our time was short, we feel this declaration of principles was so imperfectly drawn that it should not be imposed as a permanent document upon the party. Therefore, we recommended that this committee should draw up a permanent declaration of principles. Now, it has been suggested by somebody that we are evading the issues of immediate demands. We are not doing anything of the sort. We are simply stating that at this time, in 1919, we cannot tell just exactly what issues **our** working programme shall be necessary for the party for 1920, but we go on record as favoring the idea of a working programme.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Are you ready for the question?

COMRADE PAIKEN: Can't we have a declaration of principles ready ---

COMRADE LEE: Not at this time.

COMRADE PAIKEN: Then I move that action be deferred upon recommendation of the committee until we have a declaration of principles.

(Seconded)

COMRADE BERLYN: I have got to ask the question: What

the devil are we here for? I want to know, when they say we have got no declaration of principles, that the Socialist principle is a living proposition, and to deny we have any is making monkeys of us; that is the whole thing. The question is, we don't want to be blind on the proposition of wage demand. That is something that has to be carefully worked out. I am in favor of a working programme, but that does not imply that I am in favor of employment of tactics which makes the Socialist Party a capitalist party; that's another thing. The idea is this, that I believe a great majority of the Socialists ---

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Will the convention kindly come to order?

COMRADE BERLYN:-- want a platform, they haven't got no objection to.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Kindly keep order. Are you ready for the question?

SECRETARY GLASSBERG: The amendment is that action be deferred until the statement of principles shall be read by the committee.

The amendment carried.

On motion the Convention adjourned until 7:30 o'clock P. . to a room on a lower floor, the Convention Hall having to be vacated tonight for the machinists.

Thursday, September 4, 1919,

7:30 o'clock P. M.

Chairman Bausch called the Convention to order.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: We are in a peculiar position just now. This room is rather small, and as I understand it, there are quite a number of visiting comrades sitting here now. I don't know that any objection can be made in any way in this small room to allowing both delegates and visitors to remain, but I would like the Convention to decide in some way or other on the proposition.

COMRADE LULOW: The front seats for the delegates and the back seats for the visitors.

COMRADE CHASE: That will allow the visitors to remain so long as there is room for them. I move that we allow them to remain under such circumstances.

Seconded.

COMRADE CARLIN: Is it proper at this time to make a motion to set a time for the adjournment of this convention?

The motion of Comrade Chase was carried.

COMRADE CARLIN: When we meet tomorrow at 10 o'clock I move that we continue to meet but not later than 3 o'clock and that there shall be no adjournment for lunch, so that we

will get through with the work of the Convention not later than 3 o'clock tomorrow.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I wouldn't entertain that tonight. I thought you were going to bring up a proposition as to when we would adjourn here tonight. I had rather that the convention tomorrow morning decide that. If there is no objection we will dispense with the minutes. We will now hear the report of the Committee on Constitution.

COMRADE GERBER: Get a copy of the constitution so that you can follow and know what sections we are referring to, and when the committee recommends any of the section, and so forth. The committee in recommending changes in the constitution at this time, decided to recommend only such changes as are absolutely required to be taken up and acted upon by this convention. The committee was of the opinion that at this convention we would not undertake to change all of the constitution, or much of it, believing that it is necessary to only take such action that may be required so that the party can go on and do the work. Next year when the convention will meet, which will be in about eight or nine months from the time we adjourn, the party will be in a much better position to take up all the organization

problems that confront it and make such changes as may be necessary. There are no changes at all in Article 1. That simply defines the name of the party. Article 2, the committee recommends no changes, but at the end of Section 1, the committee recommends a clause which is their definition of what we mean by the term "Political Action". We recommend practically the same term that was adopted at the 1912 Convention, at Indianapolis, which reads as follows: "

"Political Action within the meaning of this Section is participation in elections for public offices and practical legislation, and administration work, along the lines of the Socialist Party Platform, to gain control of the powers of government and to use such powers in the interests of the working class.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: We want to try and save as much time as possible in our further deliberations. Is it the consensus of the house to take up these various sections seriatim and act upon them as we come to them? (Cries of "No objection.") It will be so ordered. The committee recommends the adoption of the following, that after Clause 1 of Article 2, this be put in as the definition of the term "Political Action": "Political Action

within the meaning of this Section, is participation in elections for public offices and practical legislation and administration work, along the line of the Socialist Party Platform to gain control of the powers of government and use said powers in the interest of the working class. "

COMRADE LULOW: The way we understand this, it means only participation in elections. How would you define demonstrations and strikes? You would have to put another clause in there for this particular purpose. If we have political actions to mean participation in the next one for public office, that means nothing else but the elections. Do I understand it right?

COMRADE GERBER: If Comrade Lulow would have read the Section to which this definition applies, he would have found an answer to that question. (Reading)

The reason the committee felt that it was necessary to put that definition in, is because some, and a good many of the people, put just that definition to the words "Political action" that Comrade Lulow just mentioned, and when they ask Do you believe in Political Action? Yes. What do you mean by political action? Strikes, demonstrations and things like that. Do you believe in voting? Voting is not necessary at all. We believe that political

action means this thing particularly and other things as well. It is not necessary because it is understood. Anything that comes within the scope of the work of the labor movement is good enough for the Socialist Party, but we don't want people of anarcho-syndicalist tendencies who don't believe in political action, as far as taking part in campaigns and elections are concerned, but believe in the other brand of political action such as strikes and demonstrations.

COMRADE CHASE: I think you ought to define political action better than that. Perhaps I suggest something.

COMRADE GERBER: Maybe I can save you the trouble. The committee recommends to put the word "includes" after the word "Section", to read, "Political Action within the meaning of this Section includes participation," and so forth.

COMRADE LULOW: I move its adoption.

COMRADE GERBER: It will be an addition to Section 1.

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE HOGAN: I want to ask the committee to make a little improvement in the language of this Section 1 before we leave it. In the third line towards the bottom of the Section, after the word "including" insert the

word "a declaration of beliefs in". It ought to be, "including a declaration of belief in political action."

COMRADE GERBER: It is all right as it is now.

COMRADE HOGAN: I don't think so.

COMRADE GERBER: There is no need to waste time. I think the committee may change that. The next thing that the committee recommends is considerable changes, and that is Article 3.

COMRADE SEHL: Are we going to pass away from Article 2 without considering anything else in that Article?

COMRADE GERBER: As far as the committee is concerned, yes.

COMRADE SEHL: I appreciate at this time that we can't afford to deal with what might be considered. However, there is one thing that the Philadelphia membership is very much concerned about. In fact, at our county convention, at which we instructed our delegate, our members were very much concerned about something being done at once in regard to this question of citizenship. I have suggested something to the committee, but I am told that they thought it was unimportant. I do know that in Philadelphia we have had a very serious situation in this matter. Now I know that the people from where I come from are

very much concerned about this thing, and they believe that the time is ripe right now when we should take a stand as to whether we are going to make this thing a tight affair or not, and they feel that some provision ought to be made on our application card. Now, we don't go so far as to say they must be a citizen before we accept them, but I do believe that something ought to be put in there so that we would have something to work on, so I suggest to the committee that on our application card we would include that "Upon my application being accepted I promise, within three months, whenever possible, to make application to become a citizen." I offered that suggestion to the committee, but for some reason or other they did not consider it, but I know in Philadelphia it is a serious matter, and a great many of our people believe that, if we are going to go out and do organization work, we will be able to tell the people who we want to bring in, that this is going to be a movement of people that really believe in a real political party, and not a movement made up of a whole lot of people who believe in political action and don't make any qualification for becoming citizens so that they can put into practice the ideas that they profess to believe in.

I would move that we add another Section to our application blank, which agreed that, "I pledge myself that, upon the acceptance of my application ---

COMRADE SHEEHAN: I think I will cover your point. Your motion will make it necessary that I amend it. My motion will not need an amendment from that point of view.

COMRADE SEHL: Let me make mine first. I move that we add another Section which will be known as Section 7, that would read --- we have Section 6 now. "That upon the acceptance of my application I promise, within three months, to make application to become a citizen of the United States, where possible to do so."

Seconded.

COMRADE SHEEHAN: I believe that this is a question that is important and ought to be settled now. We have had trouble enough with people who think in terms of some other country conditions, and try to make them fit here. I believe, if a man is not willing to adjust himself to American conditions, insofar as he becomes an active entity in this community, that he is not to my mind, eligible to membership in a political party here. I believe we ought to require that they at least have citizens' papers.

He can get citizen's papers within two hours, and then allow a reasonable limit within which he will make his first application, and then when the law allows, that he become a citizen. We have found in our experience, or at least I have, that every time you find a man who refuses to become a citizen of this country, you will find a man that thinks in foreign terms. And you will have a destructive element --- not that I mean that all foreigners that think in foreign terms are destructive elements, but most of them can be used by disrupters, with success, simply because they don't realize the difference between conditions here in America, and almost every other country on the earth.

COMRADE PANKEN: I desire to make a suggestion to Comrade ~~Schl~~. Instead of adding a separate paragraph, or separate Section, that the amendment which he proposes be part of the application card, being Section 5 of Article 2. In other words, instead of being Section 7, let it be the last paragraph of the application card.

COMRADE ORR: I am very much opposed to the including of this provision in our constitution. The reason for it is this: While it is perfectly understood by all

of us, that we are all anxious that our members be citizens, because then it would mean that our vote would be so much larger; yet a provision of this sort would be a great mistake. If the ^{naturalization} ~~National~~ laws of the United States, and of each state, would be simple, it would not cause a hardship to the workers in order to become citizens; then of course this provision might be reasonable and practical. But in view of the fact that the naturalization laws are as they are today, and we are not in a position to change them, makes it so difficult for people to become citizens. I maintain that this would be a mistake. Furthermore, you know that there are a great many migratory workers, who travel from one place to another, looking for jobs, and the law requires that they be a resident in any one state for one year. So that is against these people from becoming citizens.

COMRADE FLOATEN: I desire to say, unless that provision is worded so that it can be sidetracked, are we to be allowed of the condition that will be impossible to set any time at which you may become a member of the Socialist Party. In some states, and I presume in most of them, it requires two years before you can make application. In other states, or in many of them I have no doubt, you must

be a resident for five years before you can become a citizen.

COMRADE GERBER: I prefer that this matter be referred back to the committee, and worded properly. I think something could be done. Here is what we run up against. I find members of the party, when you talk citizenship to them say, "I don't want to become a citizen of a capitalistic government, I am not going to apply for citizenship in a capitalistic government like this. The Socialist Party is primarily a political organization, to participate in political struggles and in a political campaigns in this country. Now, it is manifestly unfair to have members in the Socialist Party that is functioning politically in this country, who say, "We don't want you to become a citizen," and yet try to establish the policy of a political organization. It is unfair and would bring upon us another crisis in the party. I realize the condition that has been mentioned that it is difficult in some instances to become a citizen, but I think we ought to encourage the idea as much as possible. Speaking of the federations, I want to say this, that the language federation are making special efforts towards naturalization; the Finnish Federation, the Scandinavian Federation and the Jewish Fed-

eration have undertaken campaign to have their members not on become Socialists but citizens.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I think we ought not to spend much time on this. I am not enthusiastic about the provision but I think it ought to be adopted. It does not say that a man must be a citizen, as I have the motion. It says a man shall make application for citizenship, and that everybody can do. It does not require citizenship, so don't let's be frightened by any such idea. The motion does not contain that statement.

COMRADE SHEEHAN: My amendment does.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: There was no second to that amendment. I didn't take it down.

COMRADE SHEEHAN: I heard it. I mean that a man make application for his first papers within a reasonable time, and he can do it in two hours after he leaves the boat.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: Regardless of the amendment, which we will get clear after a while, we ought to encourage citizenship. We should not force a man to be a citizen in order to be eligible to membership in the party, but we should have some provision encouraging citizenship; to that there should be no objection.

COMRADE ASKELI: It seems to me that we lose sight of what we are here for. Are we here to make American

citizens, or are we here to work for a Socialist revolution?

A COMRADE: To make Socialism.

COMRADE ASKELI: To make the American people American citizens. I think this amendment and a motion has no place in the constitution. While I am in favor of political action, and I am in favor of passing a resolution to that effect, it would be a failure to put this provision in our application card. If you have worked on a naturalization committee as long as I have, if you had gone thru all the difficulties that these foreigners are subjected to, then you know how big a job it is to become an American citizen. It is a difficult job. But there are a lot of comrades who are sincere workers but they can't become American citizens. Pass a resolution to that effect, but don't by any means put it in the constitution.

COMRADE QUINLIN: I think we can settle this very easily. Coming back to the first line of Article 2, on the first page, it says in the constitution, "Every person, resident of the United States," why not change it to, "Every citizen or declarant resident of the United States".

(Cries of "No.")

I make that suggestion. Those of you who have been true to the party, know that a declarant was held to be a potential citizen, and was compelled to fight for his country. Now, in some states a declarant can't vote; a declarant in other states, of course, has scarcely any rights of a citizen; but I want to remind you of this one fact, that as far as the Eastern states are concerned, in fact wherever I have been, a man not a citizen, getting up on a soap box or any hall, or any where, criticising public affairs or public officials, if he is arrested or interfered with by the authorities, he cannot claim any defense on the ground of free speech. That was decided by a court in Newark in the State of New Jersey. So I do believe because of the difficulties in Philadelphia pointed out by Comrade Sehl --- I have lived there about a year, and I know what he was up against --- you should have some provision to that effect.

COMRADE BEARAK: I am going to make a substitute motion, but before doing that I want to explain this matter of citizenship. I don't think it is fair for the comrades to say it is quite an easy matter to get citizenship. I think I have had as much experience as any of you here, but I think we ought to pass a reso-

lution urging the members to become citizens, and take a definite stand on the question of naturalization. I don't think you ought to punish the Jewish comrades or Finnish comrades, or any other comrades, because they cannot learn the English language well enough as far as some of the fellow judges are concerned. Let me give a case in point. One of the best judges, so-called, of the United States bench, asked a question like this: "Who was the third president of the United States?" One of the comrades who made application did not answer it off-hand, and he said, "You are rejected."

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: We have struck a snag that is not really a snag at all. The whole thing can be remedied by simply saying something like this: "I promise, as soon as possible, to apply for naturalization papers."

COMRADE ASKELI: How are you going to get a Social Revolution in this country where you have to first become a citizen, but you have no say in the affairs of government .

COMRADE SOLOMON: I want to precede my motion with a few remarks. I want to say that I feel very kindly toward this whole proposition . I really feel that the

whole matter ought to be referred back to the committee, if this becomes the consensus of the convention, so they might report back, but I want to say this; I don't see that working for Socialist Revolution involves a question of citizenship. I am willing this whole matter be referred back to the committee, and that they report back their expression of the general opinion of this convention.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: There is a motion before the house.

COMRADE BLOCK: Make it as a substitute.

COMRADE DREYFUS: I move the previous question.

Previous question being put, was carried.

COMRADE WILSON: Speaking for the committee, the committee on constitution had this matter up for about an hour and a half. They talked it over thoroughly and the majority of the committee came to the conclusion that it was inadvisable at this time to put anything of this sort in the constitution: Primarily, because we know that it will not be enforced. You know it just as well as we do. You have in this country a Socialist Party organized into local branches, taken in as members outside of a few of the very large industrial cen-

ters where the applications come into a central secretary, it is done by branch secretaries that work in shops, factories and mines, and do not devote other than a little bit of their spare time to party work. You cannot put this in here if you want to. Your branch secretary will not ask the fellow whether **he** is a declarant, whether he has his first papers, or whether he tried to get his first papers, and it will be utterly impossible to enforce the provision, and the committee took the attitude that it is foolish to write into our laws things that we know in advance cannot be enforced without simply expelling the whole party membership. Now, our position was that this was a matter for education. We feel just the same as you do, that something should be done; that some method should be devised to protect the party against people like these Russian comrades that came into the organization, and then, when the revolution took place in Europe, and the soviet form of government was established there, that provided that anybody was a citizen that had useful work; they naturally felt for the proposition that that was the only thing. But that after all, is an exceptional condition, and the Socialist Party should not stand on exceptional conditions, as a rule

we feel that this is a matter for education; that some method should be devised by the convention about that so that the constitution should not be burdened with provisions that we know in advance will not be enforced. You know as well as I do that these branches will not enforce this provision if you put it in. It will be a dead letter from the day you adjourn this convention and go home.

The substitute motion, on a vote, was lost, which was to recommit.

The amendment to the original motion, on a vote, was lost.

The original motion, that the following be inserted as Sec. 7 to Art. II; "Upon the acceptance of my application to membership in the Socialist Party, I promise within three months, wherever possible, to make application for citizenship," on vote was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Art. III, on page 2, under "Management," the committee recommends striking out in that Article Sections 1, 2 and 3 and all the sub-divisions, and inserting the following new sections:

"Section 1 (a) The affairs of the socialist Party shall be administered by the National Executive Committee and National officials, the National Committee on appeals, National Conventions and the general vote of the party.

(b) The National Executive Committee shall be composed of

nin- members elected by the National Convention at its annual sessions, not more than two shall be from one state. The committee shall take office immediately following its election and shall hold office until the next regular convention and until their successors have been elected.

(c) The National Committee shall be elected by secret ballot. The convention shall first elect nine members, who shall constitute the National Executive Committee.

(d) The convention shall, by secret ballot, further elect nine additional members as alternates to fill vacancies that may be created on the Executive Committee.

(e) A majority vote of all the votes cast at the convention shall be required to elect either the members of the Executive Committee or alternates to the Executive Committee.

(f) In case of a vacancy on the Executive Committee it shall be filled by one of the alternates in the order of the vote they received.

Section 2. (a) Members of the National Executive Committee may be recalled by a referendum of the members of the party.

(b) A motion for the recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee may be initiated by any one local, and shall require the seconds of locals with a membership of at least ten per cent of the total membership of

the party, located in at least ten different states.

(c) A motion to recall any or all members of the National Executive Committee shall be open for seconds for not more than 90 days, and shall be published in the party Bulletin.

(d) If sufficient seconds are procured before the expiration of 90 days, the National secretary shall send the referendums out immediately.

(e) Motions for the recall of a member or members of the National Executive Committee failing to receive sufficient seconds during the time allowed for seconds shall be dropped and cannot be renewed again during the period of the service of the member of the committee.

(f) In submitting ballots to a vote, on the recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee, the local initiating the motion, and the members or members who are to be recalled, shall have the right to submit a statement giving the reasons for the recall or in the defense, as the case may be, such statement not to exceed 1000 words. This statement to be submitted with the ballots for a vote.

(g) If more than one member of the National Executive Committee is to be recalled each member shall have the right to submit a statement of not more than 300 words, such statement to be submitted with the ballots for referendum vote.

(h) The time for voting on referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive Committee shall be 60 days from the time the ballots were sent out from the National Office, and all state, local or branch organizations must retain the individual ballots for at least six months, and must send them either to the state or national office when demanded.

(i) Only members in good standing who have been in the party at least six months can vote on the recall of members of the N.E.C.

(j) Referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive Committee shall not be submitted if the National Convention is to meet prior, or within 60 days of the closing of the vote for the recall."

COMRADE WALDMAN: Comrade Cohen, a member of the committee, has requested me to request Comrade Gerber, or whoever is in charge of the committee report, to present a minority report which she prepared. She was taken ill and could not be here at this time. I make that request now in her behalf, that the minority report be rendered.

COMRADE GERBER: The minority report reads as follows, though it is not a report!

"I am opposed to the recommendation of the committee on constitution that the N. E. C. be elected at the yearly convention by the delegates to the convention. I am opposed

to the yearly convention."

COMRADE AUERBACH: I am opposed to this change in the constitution for two reasons. The first, is it is too sweeping. This question particularly has never been discussed by the party Press. I think this change should not be made tonight, because we have no time to give it full consideration, as it requires full consideration. On the other hand, the party Press have not been prepared, it has not been discussed in the party Press, and it will spring something on the membership.

COMRADE DREYFUS: In principle, I don't object to anything proposed by the committee, but, for practical reasons, I would like to refer it back to the committee, for some changes. At the present time the National Executive Committee, or in the near future, probably, ought to have very much to do. We are in a turmoil. We don't know what will happen. It will be necessary for them to be in touch with each other practically all the time; at least, they ought to be. Now, in the past, one lived in San Francisco; one lived in New York; one in the far North and one in the far South. They had no occasion to thrash things out as they should have thrashed them out. It is probably due to this fact that things were not done as good as they could be done. So, I would like some provision in the constitution that a committee might be had that could get in touch with

each other all the time. Maybe some one that meets where the headquarters is located, or maybe some members of the committee within a certain radius. I don't know how to word it. I had in mind a form, and I presented it to some comrades, but, of course, I was called down on it. I had in mind that some employees of the National Office--I mean high employees, not low employees--some gentlemen in the office, should have the power to decide things in an emergency, but the comrades always think the employees can run away with the whole National Office, including the house and everything; even the ground where the house stands on. But, some thing should be done in that respect; otherwise, you will have trouble all the time. It takes about four weeks before they can send letters to each other, and then they don't know what they want. You know they write very short letters, and they are not very explicit. And, even they don't vote half of the time. Look up the last Bulletin; half of the time, or even more, you will find no action taken, and then things go on and dissatisfaction in the rank-and-file goes on, too. Something should be done, I don't know what; but, since I have made the suggestion, I hope the committee, who are wiser than I am, will find something to tell tomorrow morning, or maybe some one of you may present something.

COMRADE BRANDT: The committee has searched rather faith-

fully to find something, and that something is here presented to you. We have had three rather long winded sessions, and have labored at considerable length upon this proposition. First, though, I want to say to you that you cannot vote intelligently upon this proposition and its sweeping changes in the constitution, without first informing yourselves. I must inform you that there is a clause or section to follow, in which the committee favors and presents to you the idea of annual conventions. So, you will see the committee will be elected for one year, and must meet at least every three months. Now, comrades, here is a situation that confronts us. The referendums I have stood by, and I think all of us have, all our lives, but, there are times when the referendum goes beyond serving what we really think it should serve for the best interests of the movement. Take our National Executive Committee. Let's be plain about it. A man, who has traveled over the country as a lecturer or one who has been a writer and writes for the Socialist Press,--

COMRADE PANKEN: Will you yield for a question at this time?

COMRADE BRANDT: Just a minute. I don't care about that. I will after I am through.

COMRADE PANKEN: A question of privilege. Will you yield just for a moment? In the manner in which we have received

the report, we will never conclude the discussion. There is one principle which must be decided first, is Do we want to do away with the referendum and elect them in the convention? If you decide that question of principle first, then you can take our recommendations seriatim.

COMRADE BRANDT That is the principle that is at stake. Then, again, the point I was trying to make was that those comrades who are known throughout the country, regardless of what manner or mode of procedure has been brought about to bring them to the attention of the members, are elected. Now, it is just possible, under such a condition, that people who are absolutely not fit for that class of work may be elected. I, for one, believe that a convention or group of delegates meeting in convention is more fit to select an executive committee to transact the executive work than the persons, the great mass and file of our comrades, who absolutely have no ~~active~~ knowledge of the men. This is a reduction of the committee from fifteen down to nine. It has a provision to have them hold meetings at least every quarter. Its principal provision, I want to repeat, is the first question I raised of the changed mode of procedure of selecting that committee, and, if we meet once a year in convention, which I believe and the committee believes should be done, and a provision is made to safeguard that, in so far as the convention is concerned, I believe,

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and the committee believes, that this mode of procedure will bring about better results and be more beneficial to the party than what the mode of procedure has been in the past.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I have a motion to offer.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I haven't recognized you.

COMRADE WALDMAN: You should. I have tried to get heard half a dozen times.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Comrade Gerber has the floor at this time.

COMRADE GERBER: The question before the house is simply, Shall we elect the National Executive Committee by the convention or not, and I would ask the comrades to confine their discussion to that and that only, and that was why I asked the floor when Comrade Dreyfus was speaking, because he was speaking about something that wasn't before the house at all.

COMRADE WALDMAN: When Comrade Cohen called me up to speak about the minority report, she had known that I am opposed to the election of the members of the National Executive Committee by convention. I am opposed to this method of procedure for two reasons; for the reason of expediency and the reason of principle. I heard Comrade Brandt's defense of the idea of not electing the National Executive Committee by referendum. I heard him give the argument in

favor of electing the National Executive Committee by convention, and the argument that was made in favor of electing the National Executive Committee by convention, that the rank-and-file will not choose properly the members of the National Executive Committee to serve them; that they would choose those members that are best known as lecturers and writers. I submit to you that, at the convention, we are proceeding in very much the same way, or we are choosing only those people whom we know best, generally for their writing or speaking. Moreover, if we cannot choose the National Executive Committee on referendum, then, on principle, we ought to abandon the demand for the initiative, referendum and recall from the capitalist state. If we demand ~~referendum~~, then, on principle this referendum in the capitalist state, we surely ought to be able to approve it within our party. And, I submit this to you, furthermore: if the membership of the Socialist Party cannot be trusted with the election of the most important governing body of the membership, ~~then~~ within our party, then there is no use of having such a membership in the Socialist party. I submit that the National Executive Committee is the highest governing body in the party, and I don't want to go back to the membership in New York, and nobody will accuse me here tonight as not having stood with the party in the fight--but, I don't want to go back to the membership in New York and defend this con-

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vention against the idea that they are afraid of the rank-and-file and they took out of the hands of the rank-and-file the election of the National Executive Committee. (Applause) The charge has been made against the Socialist Party in this fight that the Socialist Party is being run by a machine. The charge has been made that the Socialist Party is afraid of the rank-and-file. The charge is made that the Socialist Party is being run by a clique. If you adopt the amendment proposed by the committee on constitution, you are going to be faced by this charge, and I am not going to blame them. I have seen conventions at work, and I know what election by conventions mean. I have seen the way they elected them at this convention. I have been at state conventions, and I have seen how these things are done. I have seen slates prepared; I have seen slates prepared by caucuses. For my part, comrades, I believe that, when this amendment comes before the rank-and-file, the rank-and-file will never ratify the idea of you taking away from them the right to elect their own National Executive Committee. (Applause) I say to you that you ought to leave the election of the National Executive Committee just as it is until the next convention. You haven't given it enough trial. It is only two years old. It was adopted in 1917.

COMRADE WOOD: This is all buncombe about the rank-and-file. I have heard that "rank-and-file" in this convention until I am sick and tired of it. The rank-and-file can give their general impressions, but the rank-and-file cannot be trusted and don't want to be trusted with every little particular thing. (Cries of "That's better.") Suppose you wanted to select a surgeon for a certain delicate operation. You wouldn't put the question of the selection of that surgeon to the rank-and-file. You would go to the profession and ask them who is the best man. I suppose we may consider ourselves a profession. We have seen these men; we have heard them; God knows we have heard them (laughter); and we have formed our opinion of them, sometimes not to their advantage, for the reason of having heard them so much. (Laughter) We have particularly formed our judgment of the men by their conduct, by their discussions and discrimination, and, if you will allow me to brag on myself in connection with New York, I think we have a darned sight better judgment as to the men who should ~~constitute~~ constitute the National Executive Committee than the fellows out in the country who don't do anything more than once in a while get a chance to look at the Call or some other Socialist paper, who don't know these men. We have got stung badly enough by people who were known as literary people, in the last presidential campaign.

A COMRADE: How about Benson?

A COMRADE: And, J. . . Phelps.

COMRADE WOOD: Exactly. But, there are people in this convention, who are not known as literary people, or celebrated, who have a darned sight more judgment than Edgar Allen Benson. I am very tired of this thing of democracy, the rank-and-file. The rank-and-file, in general, know what they want, but it takes more than that to act in this matter. I hope you will bear with this my first and only speech. (Applause) I thank you for the applause.

COMRADE AMERINGER: I am sorry I had to talk again to straighten this up. (Laughter) I certainly believe the Socialist party of America is the most inefficient organization in this country? (Cries of "Correct." I think that our method of electing our administrators, our method of electing our candidates, is insanity itself. Democracy means only this, that the majority shall have its will expressed. It does not mean that the majority will talk on every detail, on every question. It does not mean that that every man who pays his 25 cts. a month ~~tax~~ is a universal specialist, qualified to talk on any and every question. I am sorry/ I ought to have more than five minutes. (Laughter) Let me get at this in this way: the capitalist class is a very efficient class; knows a good

deal more than we know about business? You bet they do .
And, the capitalist class is for that political government
which is very inefficient, because that class wants this
government to be helpless and inefficient. It has loaded
down the political government with checks and balances of
power, where one function of the government can keep the
other one down, so that nothing is done. Nothing is done,
in order to allow the capitalists absolute freedom to build
up their economic structure without any restraint from the
government itself. (Applause) Now, we fool socialists
have copied from the capitalists their form of government,
which is a Congress, Senate, President, and Supreme Court,
with checks and balances. The best method to get socialism
is the policy we must adopt in our organization. Whether
this thing is in the referendum and recall or the "boss,"
I don't care. I want the thing, irrespective of how we
get it. I want the substance. The capitalists know how to
get the thing.

COMRADE PANKEN: On this proposition, there is no doubt that the Socialist Party must run itself and its affairs somewhat different than a corporation. The cry is made that this is not a democratic method of electing our National Executive Committee. Comrade Waldman is very enthusiastic he decries this proposition made by the committee. He says, because this is violative of democratic principle, to scouse it. May I direct the attention of the convention to one democratic government in the world, the Russian Government, which elects its National Executive Committee. The Russian Government elects its commissaires. In the various cities and villages soviets are organized. The soviets in turn elect representatives to the Congress of Soviets, and the National Soviet elects the executive committee which has the fate of Russia in its hands. (Applause)

What do you want to do in this matter? Do you want to send it back to the membership? I believe that the membership should have control. Do you want a referendum? I believe that the membership should have the referendum. But, under the provisions in the report by the committee, you have a provision which makes it possible for the membership to recall any member of the National Executive Committee who does not do his duty. It has also the power to recall ~~any~~ the entire National Executive Committee if it does not do its duty.

COMRADE ROBINSON: The convention of the bolshevik party

elects its National Executive Committee or Central Committee; in France, the National Executive Committee is elected in the convention; in Germany before the war it was the same. I don't know of any socialist party in the world which elects its National Executive Committee by referendum. I think all the trouble with our National Executive Committee was because it was an organization that wasn't proper. First of all, it wasn't elected by men who knew all the members of the National Executive Committee. Second, I think that the National Executive Committee needs a permanent meeting place in one city. In France, we have a National Executive Committee of about fifty members, but the fifty members used to meet only once in half a year or once in a year, and had a sub-committee which met in Paris. Before the war in Germany, the same, but all the time in Berlin there was a sub-committee. If we have such an organization here, I am sure that the rank-and-file would not be in such a position against the National Executive Committee. (Cries of "Question.")

COMRADE VICTERSON: I want to offer an amendment. Can't I offer an amendment?

COMRADE BAUSCH: No.

COMRADE VICTERSON: I think it's unfair.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I am going to put the proposition before

the house.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: A point of order.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I am going to put this before the convention.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: A point of order is always in order. You are not running this. You are going to listen to it.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I am going to put the matter before the convention.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: Let me state the point of order, and you can rule on it.

COMRADE VICTERSON: I insist upon my amendment.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I haven't recognized you.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: You have to recognize me on a point of order.

COMRADE SANDERS: Have we gone crazy? Can't we respect our chairman? I see some of the comrades from New York are a disgrace to the delegation.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: I believe every man has his right, and I rise to a point of order, and I believe you should listen to it and then decide. A point of order is always in order.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I want to tell this convention right here and now, as I told them in the beginning when I took the chair, that I have always worked at the trade. I am not a parliamentarian. I believe this convention has heard enough

discussion on this proposition to decide now whether they want to adopt it or not. (Applause) I don't have to be a parliamentarian to know that. I am going to put the matter before the house at this time.

COMRADE HEARAK: A point of order.

(Cries of "No point of order at this time.")

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I am going to put the question before the house.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: Is any man allowed to offer an amendment?

CHAIRMAN: Not after this is carried; if this is carried to close debate.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: This comrade wants to offer an amendment. And, you prevent me from offering an amendment.

Motion to close debate carried.

COMRADE HEARAK: If there is any delegate on the floor that notifies you that he has an amendment to offer, and you will not listen to his amendment before you close debate and you put the previous question to the house, if you look up Roberts' Rules of Order, you will find that he has a right to be heard. Comrade Victerson notified you a thousand times at least that he has an amendment to offer, and you ~~refused~~ persistently insisted that you would not recognize him and listen to his amendment.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: But he is not the only comrade in this convention looking for the floor.

COMRADE BEARAK: Discussion and amendments are two different things.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: As soon as this proposition is through, I will give you a chance to offer all the amendments you want, and I will get out of this chair.

COMRADE GERBER: I want to speak for the committee.

COMRADE VICTERSON: May I offer my amendment?

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: Comrade Gerber has the floor.

COMRADE GERBER: The question before us is the election of an executive committee by the convention or by the ~~REFERENDUM~~ referendum. I want to say for the committee, that the committee conceded that the executive committee is the administrative body. We don't want an executive committee that is going to make the policies of the Socialist party. (Applause) The executive committee is to carry out the policies of the Socialist Party made by the convention and not to dictate to the party what the policies should be. The convention makes the policies for the party, and the party membership makes the policies through the function of a referendum vote. The executive committee has to carry out the policies of the party. The question is, can we elect a more efficient executive committee by a referendum vote, or can we elect a more efficient executive committee at the convention? The opinion of the committee is that we can elect a more efficient executive committee by the convention, because we have a smaller body to elect it.

The comrades can initiate candidates; they can discuss qualifications and the merits of the various candidates, and when the vote is taken the comrades will know what they are getting for. In the years that I have been a member of the Socialist Party, and it is 29 years next November, I have seen all kinds of methods of electing the executive committee. We want the whole party to decide who is to be the executive committee to do the administrative work of the party. The committee was of the opinion that at this time particularly it is much better that the convention should elect the executive committee than the so-called rank-and-file. That's all I have to state. You may have seen it right in this convention where it was shown to us what the so-called rank-and-file vote means. It means you can pack them; it means you can monkey with them, and you can do almost anything with them. I have attended many a branch meeting, where we elected the executive committee from all over the country. And, what did we find? Who is John Jones? Nobody knew who he was. But, somebody got up and said, "Yes, he is all right; he is a good fellow; vote for him." And, they voted for him.

COMRADE DULOW: A point of information. That is, whether it requires that the executive committee be elected from the delegates or from any other---

COMRADE GERBER: Any party member eligible, if he is three years a member of the party.

SECRETARY GLASBERG: I will read you the motion. I don't know whether the chairman would like me to read the amendment that the comrade from Massachusetts wants to offer.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: What is the pleasure of the house? To listen to the amendment? (Cries of "Sure.")

SECRETARY GLASBERG: The motion is as follows: "Hereafter annual the N.E.C. shall be elected by the convention instead of by referendum at the annual convention." The amendment offered by Comrade Victerson of Massachusetts reads as follows: "That the convention shall nominate eighteen candidates out of whom nine shall be elected by referendum, and they shall constitute the N.E.C."

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: We will vote on the amendment first.

COMRADE LULOW: That is an important amendment. I will ask for a roll call. (Seconded.)

Motion for roll call was lost.

The amendment was lost by a vote of 28~~2~~ for and 44 against.

The original motion was carried by a vote of 55 for and 16 against.

COMRADE LULOW: I move that we take up seriatim the rest of the report.

CHAIRMAN BAUSCH: I will ask that the secretary take the gavel and get a new chairman. (Comrade Bausch retired as

chairman, amidst cries of "No.")

Comrade Chase was here nominated, among others, and elected as chairman for the day.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 1 of Art. III is as follows.

(See, cupra) I want to explain this. It provides that the N.E.C. shall administer the affairs of the party and provides in addition for the National Committee on Appeals, to whom appeals can be made from actions of the N.E.C., such as revocations of charges or suspensions from the party.

COMRADE GERBER: I am opposed to that part of the committee's report which deals with the committee on appeals, because there may be a controversy arise in which the committee on appeals is interested. Suppose we have a revocation of the charter of Massachusetts and a member from Massachusetts is on that committee on appeals. I am utterly opposed to that, and, if I am in order, I move to strike that out.

Seconded.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I hope you will sustain the provision just as it is brought in by the committee. If you had been in our place the last few months, you would realize the value and absolute need, as a matter of fair dealing to the National Executive Committee, for just such a provision. When we met in May, we faced certain conditions. We absolute-

ly had to deal with them one way or another. we had absolutely no one we could go to to have our judgment looked into. We might make mistakes. we might be right or wrong. we could not trust to the referendum because of the peculiar methods used. There was no convention immediately at hand. we had absolutely nobody to whom we could go for an impartial judgment. I maintain that we have got to learn from experience. As far as what Comrade Germer said, is concerned, the committee can arrange to provide against that, so that an interested party can ~~and speak~~ say it. is unfair to put the officials of the party in the position that we have been put in the last few months, where we had absolutely no part of the membership party to whom we could go to quickly and lay the facts before.

COMRADE WILSON: Taking the question Comrade Germer has raised, so that you can understand it, you have a National Executive Committee that was forced into a position where it had to act. If you had had a committee of the character that is provided for in here, an appeal from the decision of your National Executive Committee could have been had, and the energy that has been burned up in the controversy, that has been burned up in rehearings and the self-appointed leaders that deceived and misinformed the rank-and-file, would find themselves standing alone today. Comrade Germer's talk is that the executive committee would be the judge,

jury, executioner and all, and on top of that that it should take another committee to decide that it was absolutely right in what it does. Now, that situation is impossible. we dont need to have in the future the things that happened in the past few months. we have made provisions here that will avoid all those things and not do any injustice to anybody. This provides that the acts of the executive committee on revocations and suspensions shall stand until they are rescinded on rehearing by a board of appeals, and that the executive committee even then has an appeal back to the next annual convention. Now, you ought to hear the whole thing before you make a decision.

"Question" called for. Previous question being put, it carried.

CHAIRMAN CHASE: The question is on the motion of Comrade Germer that we strike out that portion which has to do with the appeal committee.

The motion was lost.

COMRADE EDLIN: I move that Section 1 (a) be adopted.

Seconded and carried.

COMRADE GERBER: We come back to the next section, Section 1 (b). (Reading. See, supra.)

COMRADE DREYFUS: I make a motion that, instead of nine, there be seven.

COMRADE PANKIN: I desire information first. How many

How many states are within 250 miles of Chicago?

CHAIRMAN CHASE: Can the committee answer that question?

COMRADE GERBER: Illinois is right here, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

COMRADE GERBER: About seven states.

COMRADE PANKEN: I have asked this question for the purpose of making an amendment to this section. I move as an amendment to this section that the executive committee be increased to 11, and if that is seconded I will tell you the reason why.

Seconded.

I believe that there ought to be a small committee of the executive committee that could get together about once in two weeks in the National Office and look over the affairs of the National Office, and in case an emergency they may be called within a few hours to the National Office to take up pressing work that may come before the party at any time; if you can get a small sub-committee of five, who are to function in the meantime, it would help a great deal in the work of the party. I urge that you consider this amendment of mine seriously. Bearing in mind the fact that the

reason why I want this executive committee increased to eleven is that five should be within a radius of a couple of hundred miles, and the other six may be from any other part of the country.

COMRADE GERBER: The committee will accept the increase to eleven.

COMRADE COOK: I would like to ask the committee not to accept that; I urge that the comrades vote for the nine, as they originally had it. You are trying to make a functioning executive committee. Have large we such a number of real competent executives? My experience has been that we have not.

CHAIRMAN CHASE: The motion before the house is on the question of eleven members. Any more discussion?

On motion, the amendment was lost.

COMRADE AMERINGER: I make an amendment that it be composed of seven members.

Seconded.

On motion, said amendment was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: The next Section is Section 1 (c). (See, supra) I want to say before the constitution provided the executive committee to be elected by a referendum vote, vacancies were filled the same way. We

have to provide how to fill vacancies when we elect them by the convention.

COMRADE LULOW: I move that that particular clause be stricken out.

Referring to Section 1 (d).

On motion, the same was lost.

COMRADE GEMBLER: The Section is as follows: "The National Executive Committee shall be elected by secret ballott. The convention shall first elect seven members who shall constitute the National Executive Committee.

"(d) The Convention shall by secret ballott further elect seven additional members as alternates to fill vacancies that may be created on the Executive Committee.

"(e) The majority vote of all the votes cast at the convention shall be required to elect either the members of the executive committee or alternates to the executive committee.

"(f) In case of a vacancy on the executive committee it shall be filled by one of the alternates in the order of the votes they receive. "

On motion, the same was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: (Reading): Section 2, (a) Members of the National Executive Committee may be recalled by a referendum of the members of the party.

"(b) A motion for the recall of any or all members of the National Executive Committee, may be initiated by any one local, and shall require the Seconds of locals with a membership of at least ten per cent of the total membership of the party, located in at least ten different states.

"(c) A motion to recall any or all members of the National Executive Committee, shall be open for Seconds for not more than ninety days, and shall be published in the Party Bulletin.

"(d) If sufficient Seconds are procured before the expiration of ninety days, the National Secretary shall send the referendum immediately.

"(e) Motions for the recall of a member or members of the National Executive Committee failing to receive sufficient seconds during the time allowed for seconds shall be dropped and cannot be renewed again during the period of the service of the member or the committee.

"(f) In submitting ballots to a vote on the recall

of any or all members of the National Executive Committee, the local initiating the motion, and the member or members who are to be recalled, shall have the right to submit a statement giving the reasons for the recall or in the defense as the case may be, such statement not to exceed 1,000 words. This statement to be submitted with the ballots for a vote.

"(g) If more than one member of the National Executive Committee is to be recalled, each member shall have the right to submit a statement of not more than 300 words, such statement to be submitted with the ballots for referendum vote.

"(h) The time for voting on referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive Committee shall be 60 days from the time the ballots were sent out from the National Office, and all state, local or branch organizations must retain the individual ballots for at least six months, and must send them either to the state or national office when demanded.

"(i) Only members in good standing who have been in the Party at least six months can vote on the recall of members of the N. E. C.

"(j) Referendum for the recall of members of the National Executive Committee shall not be submitted if the National Convention is to meet prior, or within 60 days of the closing of the vote for the recall. "

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I want to amend Section (b) where it says, "It shall require the Seconds of locals with ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ a membership of at least ten per cent of the total membership of the Party, located in at least ten different states", to read, "five different states."

Seconded.

Said amendment was carried.

COMRADE GERBER: We are now down to Section 2 (c); "A motion to recall any or all members of the National Executive Committee, shall be open for seconds for not more than 90 days, and shall be published in the Party Bulletin."

COMRADE SEHL: I am in favor of making it 60 days, rather than 90 days, for the reason that this thing might occur that your local might initiate a recall a day or two after your last issue of the Bulletin has gone out.

Said amendment was lost on a vote.

Said Section (c) on a vote was adopted.

The balance of Section 2 was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 4 of the present constitution remain, "Three years consecutive membership in the Party", and so forth. In Article 4 the committee recommends striking out the last paragraph of Section 1, beginning with the words, "In case of an emergency."

COMRADE WILSON: This is provided for on account of the election of the National Executive Committee by the convention in the annual convention being provided for.

On motion, the same was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: In Section 2, strike out the first paragraph, from the word, "elected from the districts".

On motion, the same was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: In Section 5, strike out the whole section and insert in lieu thereof the following: "Meetings of the National Executive Committee shall be held at least once every three months, except by unanimous consent of the members of the National Executive Committee."

On motion, the same was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 6, Article 4, we strike out,

because that is already covered by a previous Section. The committee recommends instead of that Section we put in the following Section: "The National Executive Committee shall be the custodian of all the Party's property."

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: A point of information. Is that in harmony with the incorporation and the legal arrangements made, because that is clearly a legal question.

COMRADE WILSON: If it is not in harmony, it would not have been here.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: You know that I have reference to. We have a board of trustees who are in charge of our property, and that has been incorporated in accordance with the laws of some state or other.

COMRADE PANKEN: You can nevertheless be custodian of the property, even though the property is vested in another person by a trust agreement.

On motion, said Section was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Article 5, Section 1, the committee recommends striking out the words, in the third line, at page 5 at the bottom, "Or by referendum vote of the

membership."

On motion, said section was carried.

COMRADE PANKEN: I move that the Convention adjourn until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Seconded.

On a vote, the motion was lost.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 3, in the same Article on page 6, the committee recommends that the words "and language federations" be inserted after the words "territorial organizations." And which will read as follows: "The Executive Secretary shall cause to be published in the Official Order of the party, all important official reports and announcements; a monthly report of the financial affairs of the Party; a summary of the conditions and the membership of the several states, territorial organization and language federations," and so forth.

On motion the same was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: The committee recommends striking out all of Article 6.

On motion said recommendation was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: The committee recommends under Article 6, this new Article: "The National Committee on appeal

shall consist of nine members, elected by the National Convention in the same manner as provided for the election of the National Executive Committee, not more than two shall be from any one state, and no member or alternate of the National Executive Committee shall be a member of the National Committee on Appeals."

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I want to know in the first place, whether it is understood that automatically, by changing the number from nine to seven of the National Executive Committee, would also change the number from nine to seven on the committee on Appeals.

CHAIRMAN CHASE: No.

COMRADE : I move to amend that the Committee on Appeals shall consist of seven members.

On motion, said amendment was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 1 (b). "The committee shall meet immediately following the adjournment of the convention at which it is elected, and shall organize by electing a chairman and secretary, the names and addresses of which shall be kept standing in the Official Organ of the Party."

On motion, said section was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 2 (a). "It shall be the duty of the National Committee on Appeals to hear cases involving the revocation of charters or suspensions, or suspension of organizations on appeal from the actions of the National Executive Committee, and on no other matter."

COMRADE O'NEAL: You haven't made any provision to fill vacancies that will occur in case a state is involved in which a member from that state is on the committee. I therefore move this addition: "That in case one or more members of the Committee on Appeals are personally involved in any case, the remaining members shall fill the temporary vacancy."

On motion, the amendment was lost.

On motion, the Section as read, was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 2 (b). Is as follows ---

COMRADE ORR: Everybody is going home. I move that we adjourn until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Carried.

SEVENTH DAY.

Friday, September 5, 1919

9:30 o'clock A.M.

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Chase. The reading of the minutes being dispensed with on motion.

CHAIRMAN CHASE: Is there any other committee that has any additional report? The Committee on Constitution is not here. Is the Committee on Economic Organizations ready to report? Has the Committee on Resolutions anything further to report.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I would like to make a motion, if there is nothing else before the house; it is now a quarter of 10. I move that at 11:30 we stop all business and proceed to the election of the National Executive Committee.

Seconded.

COMRADE COHEN: (Of Pennsylvania) I move to amend "And other committees".

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I accept that.

Motion carried.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: I have another motion. I wish you would elect an assistant secretary. The assistant secretary we elected has departed, and I am afraid I will have to depart early this afternoon.

Comrade Cook was selected as assistant secretary.

COMRADE IRONSTEIN: I believe some suggestion ought to be made when this convention is to adjourn.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that we proceed with the taking up of the report of the Constitution Committee.

CHAIRMAN CHASE: There is nobody here to report.

COMRADE QUINLAN: The report of the committee on organizations is ready, and I ask that the Sargeant at Arms go after the chairman, who is downstairs.

COMRADE VICTERSON: I think that the report on Economic Organization be read before a larger delegation.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: We are here to do business. It is their business to be here.

COMRADE GOEBEL: Do I understand you want to have the report of the committee on Economic Organization?

CHAIRMAN CHASE: I believe so. Are you ready to report Comrade Shiplacoff?

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Yes.

COMRADE GOEBEL: It may be necessary for us to have some

of these reports in our hands.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Our report is practically unanimous. It is a short report and the only slight differences of opinion there were were due to the fact that most of the members of this committee are closely tied up with one or another organization of the American Federation of Labor, and there was a disagreement as to whether any reference to that organization should be made in the report. Of course, it is a matter of usage, a matter of custom, from which we Socialists must not differ. Some of us felt that it won't be complete unless we please some of our friends on the outside. The report is as follows:

On motion, the same was adopted.

CHAIRMAN CHASE: The time has now arrived for the election of a chairman and vice-chairman for the day.

Comrade Stedman was the unanimous choice for Chairman of the day.

Comrade Beloof was selected as vice-Chairman.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Is the committee on constitution ready to continue its report?

COMRADE GERBER: Yes. We come now to Article 8. Article 7 is to remain as it is. The committee recommends striking out all of Article A. It provides for the annual meetings of the state secretary. Since we will have an annual convention it recommends that that Section be stricken out.

On motion, said recommendation was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Article 9 of the present Constitution then becomes Article 8. The committee recommends changing this as follows: "Section 1. There shall be a National Convention of the Socialist Party each year."

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 2. "The date and place of the National Convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee."

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 3. "The representation at regular National Conventions shall be one delegate from each organized state having membership of one thousand or less, and one additional delegate for every additional thousand members, or a major fraction thereof, based upon the sale of dues stamps during the year preceding the National Convention."

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 4. "In Presidential years the National Convention shall be composed of 200 delegates, to be apportioned among the states in the following manner: One from each state or territory, and the remainder in proportion to the average national dues paid by the organization of such states or territories during the preceding year. Delegates to National Conventions must be resident members of the state from which they present credentials, and must be members of the Socialist Party for at least three years."

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 5. "Railroad fare, including tourist sleeping car fare, of delegates to and from the Convention, and a per diem of \$5.00 to cover expense

shall be paid from the National treasury from a special Convention fund, to be created by the sale to the members of a special Convention stamp."

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 6. "These special Convention stamps shall be sold for fifty cents, and no member of the party shall be considered in good standing in the party on and after the Convention for which the stamp is issued, unless such stamp is attached to his or her membership card."

ARTICLE VIII,

New Constitution

COMRADE GOEBEL: If there is any special assessment business to pay the cost of this convention, I know it is a failure right here now. I think we should have an arbitrary provision for the setting aside of a convention fund to cover this expense. Otherwise, the thing will fail.

COMRADE MAILLY: I move to amend by inserting "which shall be paid out of the National treasury by setting aside two cents from the monthly dues of each member," two cents from the sale of each due stamp.

Seconded.

COMRADE BRANDT: As a member of the committee, I desire to oppose the amendment. Possibly there might be a more intelligent vote cast if the secretary of the committee was to place before the convention very briefly the provisions which we have made in reference to National party dues. The provision as provided now in the committee's report would not leave sufficient for current expenses of the National party. This matter was taken up in the committee, and thrashed out from two viewpoints. The first, from the viewpoint of a sufficient amount of dues, and part taken out to defray the expense; and, then, again from the viewpoint of the amount of dues covering the party expense and this particular assessment. Now, this assessment is obligatory. It is made part of the constitution, and suspension will follow just the same

as it will follow for non-payment of dues. The committee gave considerable time to that, and the committee believed, and I am quite sure that we still believe that this is the better mode of procedure than to take a certain percentage out of the dues.

COMRADE HOWE: A point of information. The committee on finance unanimously adopted a resolution to be sent to the committee on constitution, asking them to insert in the constitution a provision that the due stamps bought from the National secretary shall cost fifteen cents, and, of the additional ten cents, two cents was to be set aside. I would like to know what became of that resolution before the constitution committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The chairman knows nothing, but will refer you to the secretary of the committee.

COMRADE WILSON: The proposition submitted by the finance committee to the committee on constitution to raise the dues to the National office from five to fifteen cents per stamp has not been concurred in. The arrangement that has been made in the matter of dues, which you should have before you, is this: that the convention adopt a quarterly due stamp. Not necessarily a quarterly due stamp, but that an effort be made from now on to introduce the system of collecting dues quarterly. That the National organization receive for each quarter, which would be for three stamps if monthly stamps

are issued, or for one, if quarterly stamps are issued, the sum of 25 cents; which means that the National organization, instead of receiving 5 cents, will receive $8\frac{1}{3}$ cents for each monthly due stamp; that the due stamp be sold by the state organization to the county secretaries and city central committees at 70 cents; that the county secretary, or the city central committee, as the case may be, in counties or cities that are reorganized through central committees, sell the stamp for \$1.05; that is, the three stamps for the quarter for \$1.05, or one-third of that, where they are sold monthly; and that the branch member be required to pay for a quarter, or the three stamps, the sum of \$1.50. In other words, it is a raise of the dues to 50 cents to the member. Now, the reason for putting this in the National constitution is this: that the state organizations over the country have certain constitutions that set out how much dues are to be to the various sub-divisions of the Party; and, if the National constitution is merely amended to increase the dues to the National office from 5 to 15 cents, or from 5 to $8\frac{1}{3}$ cents, it means that a number of the state organizations will fight the increase, and that, if it was carried, especially the 15 cents, that it wouldn't benefit those states unless they could get, by referendum, the state membership to take over the increase. So that, if this is adopted, it becomes manda-

tory upon all of the states in the country, and the state constitutions will not need to be changed, because this clause will supersede all references to dues in those constitutions. Now, that is the situation. And, we felt in addition to that, that we must have a special assessment stamp to meet the expense of these conventions; that you would not get dues enough to take care of many things that must be taken care of under the present conditions, and that, in addition to the dues, there should be a special stamp which is now made obligatory upon every member of the Party, and, if he is not got that stamp in his book after the convention, he ceases to be a member of the Party until he purchases a stamp and puts it in his book. That is the position of the committee.

COMRADE SANDERS: The finance committee went over this proposition very carefully. We know that in the past none of the delegates' expense to the National convention have ever been met by the stamp question. And, we believe that a steady income, a monthly income, into the National office, which will provide for the necessary expense of that office, is what is absolutely necessary, instead of this voluntary assessment or the occasional, quarterly or semi-annual extra assessment. Now, the average member, when he goes into the organization, knows the monthly dues are so much, and that he is not going to be met with an extra appeal every little

while, he knows what he has to pay, and, therefore, prepares to meet it. We don't want to have to expel half of our membership after every convention because they haven't got the special assessment in their book. The finance committee decided that, by the increase in the dues to 15 cents a stamp to the member at large, it would mean that the National office is getting treble the amount that it had before, and out of that 15 cent stamp, two cents can be set aside to meet the expense of the National convention. Now, it is going to be ample. We figured it over very carefully in that committee, and sent those recommendations to the committee on constitution, because it necessarily would have to be embodied in the constitution. With this income, we are sure that the convention expense can be met, the delegates can be paid, which they never have in whole in the past, and that there would be left enough for the absolutely necessary conduct of the National office. I hope this convention will give this careful consideration. These occasional stamp questions that are coming up every three months is going to get our members confused. This semi-annual one would do the same. The voluntary assessment has never been a success, because those comrades who come to every meeting, who carry on the conduct of all the meetings, are the ones who go down in their pocket again for this extra assessment, while the stay-at-homes, who come once a year and pay their dues,

are never met by the sale of tickets to affairs and dances, subscriptions to papers, donations to this, that and the other, and then pay the extra assessment stamp which pays the convention expense, and then they go down in their pocket when they go to the convention to do work that is necessary. I say that the membership at large should pay it in the monthly payment. That is the only fair and square way. Let the stay-at-home, who never do the work, go down in their pockets and pay for a little of the work that the other fellows are putting to their shoulder all the time.

COMRADE GERBER: I would suggest, for the committee on constitution, that instead of dealing with this clause in the constitution, we rake up the question of dues. I think it would be much better, because, before we settle this as to whether we shall have assessments or not, let's settle the question of dues. I suggest, therefore, that we take up the question of dues.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, we will take up the dues proposition, and the matter now under consideration is tabled until the dues proposition is disposed of.

COMRADE GERBER: "Sec. 7 (a) Delegates to the National Convention shall be elected either by referendum vote of the members, or by a state convention."

On motion, "or by a state convention" was stricken out.

Discussion of report of Committee
on Constitution.

Friday, Sept. 5, 1919.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Is the Committee on Constitution prepared to continue it's report?

COMRADE GERBER: Yes. We come now to Art. VIII. Art. VII is to remain where it is; no changes in that. The committee recommend that we strike out all of Art. VIII. You will see what it is. It provides for the annual meetings of the state secretaries. Since we will have an annual convention, the committee recommends that that be stricken out.

COMRADE ORR: I move that be adopted.

Seconded. Carried.

COMRADE GERBER: Art. IX of the present constitution will then become Art. VIII. The committee recommends to change this as follows:

"Section 1. There shall be a National Convention of the Socialist Party each year."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think we may expedite it by asking if there is any opposition. If there is no opposition, it will be declared adopted.

There being no opposition, Section 1 was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 2 is as follows:

"The date and place of the National Convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no opposition, it will stand

as adopted.

There being no opposition, Section 2 was adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 3 is as follows:

"Section 3. The representation at regular National Conventions shall be one delegate from each organized state having a membership of 1000 or less, and one additional delegate for every additional thousand members, or a major fraction thereof, based upon the sale of due stamps during the year preceding the National Convention."

COMRADE GERBER: I might read this section also:

"Section 4. One from each state or territory and the remainder in proportion to the average National dues paid by the organization of such states or territories during the preceding year. Delegates to National Conventions must be resident members of the state from which they present credentials, and must be members of the Socialist Party for at least three years."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no opposition, and hearing none, I declare both sections adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Section 5 is as follows:

"Section 5. Railroad fare, including tourists sleeping car fare of delegates to and from the conventions, and a per diem of five dollars to cover expenses, shall be paid from the National Treasury from a special convention fund to be created by the sale to the members of a special convention stamp."

Section 6 is as follows:

"Section 6. These special national convention stamps shall be sold for fifty cents, and no member of the party shall be considered in good standing in the party on and after the convention for which the stamp is issued, unless such stamp is attached to his or her membership book."

COMRADE GOEBEL: If there is any special assessment business to pay the cost of this convention, I know it is a

failure right here now, because the first convention will mean another debt piled upon us. I think we should have an arbitrary provision for the setting aside of a definite fund to cover these expenses; otherwise, the thing will fail.

COMRADE MAILLY: I move to amend by inserting "Which shall be paid out of the national treasury by setting aside two cents from the monthly dues of each member," two cents from the sale of each due stamp.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It has been moved as an amendment that two per cent. of the funds received-- Is that two per cent. or two cents?

COMRADE MAILLY: Two cents.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Two cents from what?

COMRADE MAILLY: Each due stamp.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Is that supported?

COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE BRANDT: As a member of the committee, I desire to oppose the amendment. Possibly there might be a more intelligent vote cast if the secretary of the committee was to place before the convention very briefly the provisions which we have made in reference to National party dues.

(Here follows matter that has already been transcribed, with reference to the adoption of Sec. 6 (a) of Art. X, which is to become Art. IX, reading in part as follows, "The dues of the members to be paid to the Socialist Party shall be not less than \$1.50 a quarter," etc.)

(Here followed discussion as to whether the convention should now proceed to the election of members of the National Executive Committee now, according to the special order of business, or to defer it. On a motion and vote, this matter was set for action at five minutes to one o'clock.)

COMRADE GERBER: Coming back to the report, the committee recommends the insertion of a new section, Section 7 (a):

"Delegates to the National Convention shall be elected either by referendum vote of the members, or by a state convention.

COMRADE BRAUNSTEIN: What objections are there, if any, to the election as held in No. 4? I want to know your reasons.

COMRADE GERBER: They are not excluded at all. The state or county conventions are about the same. The National constitution cannot very well provide the manner in which the states will act. For instance, New York state, and perhaps many others, elect delegates to the National Convention by districts. They divide the states into so many districts. In other states they elect them at large. In other cases, is either the convention of the members in the particular district or a referendum.

COMRADE MARCUS: I move to strike out election "by a state convention." Heretofore, the members of the National Executive Committee, and the National office, were elected

by referendum vote, and it was immaterial whether the delegates to the convention were elected either by this convention or a referendum. Now, the delegates to the National Convention should be elected not by a convention. I believe that the rank and file should have something to say; that the basis of representation should rest in the rank and file. If the delegates are elected now or we allow them to be elected by a convention, it would be the convention --, it will be this convention that elected the delegates to the National Convention. Again, the National Convention will elect the National officers. I think it is nothing but just to the membership that they should have something to say that the National Convention should be controlled by the rank and file. Some last year were against the referendum. They said the Russian Soviet are elected by convention. But, the local soviets are elected by the rank and file, by the people working in the various industries, and I think we should adopt the same thing, so that it can't be said it was done by cliques. Eliminate that clause "or by a state convention."

COMRADE WRIGHT: I believe it is plain enough, according to the report of the committee, that this matter of electing by referendum or convention is left to the states to decide that matter themselves, and I don't see that this convention has any use in wasting a lot of valuable time here talking and

mouthed over a question that is to be determined by the states themselves.

COMRADE DREYFUS: I want to amend the motion of the committee to strike out "or by a state convention."

COMRADE: I second it.

COMRADE DREYFUS: I want to give my reasons for it. We have a yearly convention. And, another point, it was said that they didn't need this and that because we have every year a convention. If you have a yearly convention, you can refer it by referendum. You don't need an emergency convention. And,---

Previous question asked for, put to a vote and carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The first vote comes upon the amendment to strike out "Or by a state convention." Are you ready for the question.

Question being put, it carried and the amendment was carried, to strike out "or by a state convention."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The question recurs upon the report of the committee. All in favor of the committee's report with the amendment, signify by saying aye.

The report of the committee as to this section, with the amendment to strike out "or by a state convention," was adopted.

ART. IV.

COMRADE GERBER: The recommendation of the committee is as follows: we changed our recommendation.

"The dues of the members to be paid to the Socialist Party shall be not less than \$1.50 a quarter, of which the National Office shall receive from the state organizations thirty cents. The state organizations shall retain forty-five cents, and thirty cents to go to the county or city organizations in organized counties and ~~cities~~. The state organizations to sell quarterly due stamps at the rate of \$1.05 in unorganized counties."

That is the provision, and add to that, "and that two cents from each monthly due stamp be set aside as a special convention fund."

COMRADE SEHL: Do I understand it will be quarterly stamps, or will it be monthly stamps?

COMRADE GERBER: Monthly stamps.

COMRADE SEHL: Will you go over these figures again, and tell us, beginning with the National charge, the National charge to the state.

COMRADE GERBER: Thirty cents.

COMRADE SEHL: No. For one month?

COMRADE GERBER: Ten cents.

COMRADE SEHL: How much, the state to the local?

COMRADE GERBER: The state would charge to the local forty-five cents for three stamos; the local to the branch

would charge 30 cents additional, or ten cents a month for the local. And, the branch charges the rest. In counties where there is no organized county, the state organization will sell the stamps to the local at \$1.05, because I realize in the small locality, where there is only one or two small branches or locals, the state organization has to cover the bulk of the expense. In the larger cities, the local covers the expense, whereas in the smaller locality the state organization has to cover the main part of the expense, and, therefore, should be entitled to this additional money.

CONRADE DE SOMBRE: As a member of the finance committee, we argued that thing pro and con. We figured out that the National office cannot get along with less than fifteen cents a month. When we have more members than we have at the present time, which is about 50000, we will have that much more, and the National office figured we needed every penny. Ten cents is not enough. We need fifteen. As far as the other organizations, I don't care so much about that, but the National office should get fifteen cents a month from every stamp that is sold.

COMRADE NAGLE: We want to understand that. I don't understand it, and a lot of these men don't understand it. Now, the recommendation of the committee, is it this: that the entire dues for State and for National and locals shall be \$1.50.

COMRADE GEBRE: Not less. You can fix it more.

COMRADE NAGBE: Will you explain it, so that we can understand it?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Assume it is a 50 cents a month stamp. From that the National office would get how much?

COMRADE GERBER: Ten cents a month.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The state organization how much?

COMRADE GERBER: Fifteen cents a month.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That is 25 cents. They buy it for ten cents, and sell for a quarter. Who do they sell to?

COMRADE GEBRE: To the local.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The local buys for 25 cents, and the local sells for what?

COMRADE GERBER: 35 cents.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Thirty-five cents, and the branch then would make--

COMRADE GERBER: Fifteen cents.

COMRADE HOWE: A question of information. Does the National office get ten cents for each stamp?

COMRADE WILSON: Yes.

COMRADE HOWE: And, the state gets 25 cents.

COMRADE WILSON: Yes.

(Cries of "no.")

COMRADE WILSON: The state gets 25 cents, but profits only in fifteen cents.

COMRADE HOWE: What does the county sell to the local for?

COMRADE WILSON: Thirty-five cents.

COMRADE HOWE: And, the local sells--

COMRADE WILSON: To the member at fifteen cents.

COMRADE GERMER: I am opposed to the committee report, and in favor of the financial committee's recommendation. It has been stated here time and again, including Comrade Wilson, that we will have hardtimes for months to come. That intimation is true. Now, we are not going to meet our problem unless we have some funds to do it with. The hardest time for the party will be between now and the next convention, and I assume that the next convention will be perhaps sometime next May, and in that time we ought to try to get as large a war chest as we possibly can, and it cannot be created by any eight and one-third cents per member per month. The membership now is around 50000. Eight and a third cents per member per month is not going to allow the National office----

COMRADE WILSON: Ten cents.

COMRADE GERMER: Even ten cents is not going to allow the National office to undertake the work of rebuilding the Socialist Party. There are states where work can be done, where there is no state organization today; North Carolina, South Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, over in Minnesota and other states where there are a number of Socialists,

yet not in the organization. That is a matter not for the state organization to do, but the National organization will have to undertake. I observed Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and a number of other states that I might mention, where the state organization is not going to be able to build up, but the National office will have to be depended upon to undertake that work to rebuild, and you are not going to be able to do that with any fifty thousand or even seventy thousand members with even ten cents per month. It ought to be at least fifteen cents a month, and then we can set aside the two cents out of the fifteen for the convention fund. I hope that the proposition to make the dues to the National office fifteen cents will carry. So far as the state dues are concerned, I think they ought to be left to the states themselves, because several of the states now have a decidedly improved system of collecting dues, than is provided by the committee's report.

COMRADE WILSON: There is no use of you people kidding yourselves at all, that the membership are going to vote fifteen cents to your National organization. They are not going to do anything of the kind. If you get ten cents you will be lucky, and it means that you have got to fight; that every delegate that goes back has got to fight to get that ten cents. And, the states are not gaining anything by the proposition that the committee has submitted here. The branches are gaining a little something by it, and for that

reason may vote for it. On 50000 members at ten cents, the National organization will get \$50000. If it can't live on that, it ought to go out of business. It is all right to talk about going down into Arkansas--I don't mean Arkansas? I don't want to say anything about you--I mean South Carolina, and organize a socialist movement. It is all right to dream about that, just as our Russian comrades dreamed about the revolution in the United States. But, you are not going to go down there and organize a socialist movement at this time. And, to spend very much of your \$6000 there is to throw it into the sea. It is not going to get you anywhere. And, I know that when state organizations have grown up to a certain point, that that organization and the county and city organization within that state are expected to do practically all of the work. They don't expect the National office to come there and help them out. The National office is always after them to help the National office out. Now, we are doubling dues to the National office. We are doing again what we did at St. Louis, and, when it was submitted to a referendum, it was defeated. The state secretaries' convention of a year ago brought this proposition up, and when it went out it was defeated. Now, you can talk about 15 cents, if you want to. You adopt it, if you want to, but you will not get the support of many of the strongest states in the Union.

I think that the report of the committee should be adopted. We have accepted the report of the finance committee to set aside a certain amount for a convention fund. If that convention fund accumulates twice as much money as what is needed there, one-half of it can revert back to the general party fund in the National office, to be used for any purpose. Two cents is more than you will need for the convention fund annually. It will give you more money than you need, under the constitution, if you adopt it as it is submitted. Now, you will not get 15 cents by, and that's all there is to it. If you get 10 cents by, it means that every one of you must go back home and work from right now on until the last ballot is counted in the referendum. But, if you put it at 15 cents, there is no use in asking me or any of the other comrades to go back home and get it by, and I for one will not do it.

COMRADE HOGAN: I realize that a great deal of what Comrade Wilson said on behalf of the committee is true. I don't believe it is possible to get by with 15 cents. I believe that a happy medium might be struck for 12 cents or 12 1/2 cents.

+ + + + +

COMRADE NAGLE: I can't add anything to what Comrade Wilson has said. + + And, the way that the constitution committee has presented it to us, as I understand it, the dues are

\$3.00 a year, and, before the convention is called, we must buy a 50 cent stamp. Is that correct?

COMRADE GERBER: \$6.00 a year.

COMRADE NAGLE: And, a 50 cent stamp.

COMRADE GERBER: There will be no 50 cent stamp under the provisions of the committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The National sells it for 10 cents; the state, 30; and the state sells it to the local for 35; and, the branch can sell it, if it wants, for 35 or five dollars.

COMRADE GERMER: Is the convention assessment included in that?

COMRADE WILSON: Yes.

COMRADE NAGLE: I want the 50 cent stamp, for this reason: when a convention is called, it can't be said that a lot of men attended the convention and paid their own expenses. I want it fixed so that it will be mandatory for every Socialist to pay 50 cents, and that they will vote for a specific purpose, and that for the purpose of paying the expenses of the delegates from the states to the National convention, and that every man will have an opportunity to go that is elected, and there will be no reason why any many should say, "I couldn't go, because I couldn't pay my own expense."

COMRADE WILSON: We have talked this matter over. Setting aside two cents on the 10 cents to the National office means that, for the convention in 1920, you wouldn't have anything;

because it will take you four months to get this proposition to a referendum. Then, you set aside two cents out of each member's dues for four months, for your next convention will meet in about four months. The proposition is this: You adopt the provision for the member to pay not less than \$1.50, not less than \$6.00 a year, and not less than 50 cents a month dues; 10 cents of which goes to the National office; 15 cents of which goes to the state; 10 cents of which goes to the city central committee or the county organization; and 15 cents to the branch: making the 50 cents. And that you should retain in the constitution, at least until the next convention, an assessment stamp to meet the convention expense of 1920. Now, that gives you 10 cents to your National, and your convention stamp obligatory, in addition; and then, when you meet a year from now, you can settle the question on the matter of your assessment stamp.

(Cries of "That will be all right," and cries of "Question.")

COMRADE SANDERS: The finance committee understood that it's report of it's work would be reported here, but it has not. It went into the expense of the National office; it went into what would be necessary to do the reorganization work which is absolutely necessary at this particular time. I wish that I might touch just a moment on that, if my amend-

ment is seconded. My amendment is that the report of the finance committee on dues be accepted.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I declare your motion out of order.

COMRADE HOWE: We are talking a good deal on this subject of raising the dues in the National office to 10 cents. As a member of the finance committee, I proposed and supported raising of the dues to 15 cents. That seems to meet with some opposition. The committee reports that they desire the constitution provide 10 cents for each due stamp, and, in addition to that, a 50 cent stamp to provide for the next convention, to be only part of the constitution for one year; it could only be for one year anyhow, because the next convention could can it, if they want to. * * * I believe the last proposition of the committee that dues to the National office should be 10 cents, with an extra 50 cent stamp for the coming year will be sufficient to supply all the funds needed.

The previous question was moved.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The question recurs before the house on the committee's final report: the National office, 10 cents; the state, 15; the local, 10; the branch, 50. Where 2 cents to be set aside, a 50 cent due stamp for the convention to be imperative. Are you ready for the question.

The motion being put to the convention, it carried.

COMRADE HOWE: I wanted to ask a question there, but you put it too quick. Will you repeat the various portions paid for the National, state, county and local?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The National receives 10 cents; the state, 15; the local, or as we call, the city central committee, 10 cents. That reaches the figure of 35 cents. And, the local disposes of it for 50 cents. That gives the local 15 cents .

COMRADE HOWE: That's all right. I just didn't hear it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I am advised by the secretary that a special order of business at 11:30 was the election of members of the National Executive Committee, and other committees. Nominations are now in order.

COMRADE GOEBEL: The committees that are out should be notified of this thing.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In the absence of a motion to reconsider, there is nothing before the house except the nominations.

COMRADE GERBER: I move to reconsider.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Did you vote in the affirmative?

COMRADE GERBER: I wasn't here.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: A motion to reconsider can only be made by some one who voted to adopt the rule to proceed with the election.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I voted in the affirmative, and I so move.

Motion to reconsider was carried.

COMRADE GERBER: I move that the election of members of the National Executive Committee, and all other committees to be elected by this Convention, be set for 2:30, so that all delegates can be notified to be here.

Seconded.

COMRADE PANKEN: I move as an amendment that the election take place fifteen minutes before we adjourn for the noon recess.

Seconded.

The reason for this amendment is the following: You will have a vote by ballot and you will have to have a canvass of this ballot and it will take quite some time to canvass the ballot. When we adjourn at 1 o'clock, or whatever time you do adjourn, the committing on canvassing the ballot will have an opportunity to go over the canvass and report back when we reassemble.

COMRADE GERRILL: I don't agree with the amendment because it does not set a definite time, "fifteen minutes before we adjourn."

COMRADE PANKEN: Fifteen minutes to one.

COMRADE GLASSBERG: We adjourn at one o'clock, and fifteen minutes to one.

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: On the same subject there is no further recommendation except Section 6 (b) becomes Section 7 (c), and Section 6 (c) to become Section 7 (d), and Section 7 to become Section 8, and Section 8 to become Section 9, which was made necessary by the addition of some new sections.

COMRADE GLASSEBERG: Before we go any further, I move to reconsider something we did last night.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That is not in order.

COMRADE GERBER: Article 10, Section 7. We recommend that to be changed. That deals with the dual stamp That is simply made necessary by the increase of dues .

Carried.

COMRADE CHIEFF: Article 11 on page 12, we recommend change in this Article as follows: Strike out Section 1 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "Delegate to the International Congress and the International Secretary shall be elected by the National Convention. There shall be one delegate for every 20,000 members, ascertained by computing the average membership for the preceding year.

Members to be eligible must have been members of the Party for at least three years at the time of their

election. The expense of the delegates and a per diem equal to the per diem fixed by the delegates to the national Convention, shall be paid from the treasury."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, it stands as adopted.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I am opposed to this change. The present system is by referendum. I believe we can trust the rank and file of our Party to choose those who can best represent us there, and therefore I move that they be elected by referendum.

COMRADE WILSON: A point of order; the Constitution provides now they shall be elected by referendum.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I will amend that the Article stand as it is today.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The amendment is ~~to~~ not concur in the report of this committee, and that the provision for electing delegates to the International Conference, stand the same as it was in the old constitution, which involves election by referendum.

The amendment was carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That portion of the committee's report is not concurred in, and the International

delegates will be elected as provided in the old constitution.

COMRADE GERBER: We recommend the adoption of this amendment, which I have already read: "Members to be eligible must have been members of the Party for at least three years at the time of their election." And so forth.

A COMRADE: Make it "At the time of their nomination," instead of "election."

COMRADE GERBER: I don't care, make it "nomination."

CHAIRMAN SLEDIAN: The committee accept the recommendation.

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Article 14, page 18. Strike out all of this Article and insert the following: "The National Executive Committee shall employ a director for propaganda and education among the young. The director of propaganda among the young shall organize and co-operate with the existing Young People's Socialist Organization for the extension of Socialist propaganda and education among young people." The reason for this is, as the situation now stands in the

Young People's League, is that there has been a tendency among the young people to break away or declare themselves independent and not be under the direct control of the party. It was thought bad policy that the parties should have nobody or any departments to look after the propaganda and organization among the young people, and we recommended that the National Executive Committee should have some one to act as director of organization in propaganda among the young people.

Adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Article 13, page 15, add after the words "National Constitution", Section 1, third line, "And the recall of the National Executive Committee." We have provided a separate provision for the recall, and it is simply to bring that Section of the Constitution in line with what we have already provided.

CHAIRMAN STEPHAN: There is no objection, it stands adopted.

COMRADE GERBER: Add a new Section to be known as Section 4. "Only members of the Party in good standing and who have been members of the Socialist Party for at least six months, can vote on National referendum. (Ballots for National referendum shall contain a line

where members can state as to their length of membership in the Socialist Party.) " "

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, the committee's report on this will stand approved.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It recurs now on the adoption of the old report.

COMRADE GERBER: Article 12, dealing with the foreign speaking Federations, I suppose many of you have been waiting for that, ~~isxxx~~ the committee recommends that nothing be done at this convention on this article, but that the Convention select a committee of three to study the subject of foreign speaking language Federations, and report to the next National Convention, which is to be held next year.

Said recommendation was adopted.

COMRADE BLOCK: The committee on manifesto feels that the Convention should go on record as having adopted the manifesto with full knowledge of every word that is in it. We have made several changes in it to conform with the suggestions of the delegates. (Comrade Block here read the changes made).

Unanimously adopted.

COMRADE BLOCK: The committee presents the following resolution; as an agenda:

"Whereas, experience shows that much time is wasted in our national conventions as a result of the fact that questions to be considered by them are not arranged and stated in a clear and orderly manner in advance, be it

"Resolved, that the National Executive Committee is instructed to prepare an agenda for the national convention of 1920, and to publish the same at least forty days before the date of its opening session."

VICE CHAIRMAN BELOOF: If there is no objection, it is unanimously adopted.

COMRADE BLOCK: The following resolution is submitted with reference to a campaign book:

VICE CHAIRMAN BELOOF: If there is no objection, this resolution will be considered as adopted.

COMRADE BLOK: The following resolution is presented with reference to the representation in legislative bodies:

"Whereas, under the conditions of modern industrial society, the system of electing members of legislative and governing bodies from geographical districts is not truly representative of social and economic interests, and especially does not give adequate representation to the wage-working class; be it

"Resolved, that the Socialist Party declares in favor of the introduction of a system of representation based on occupational groups, and decides to agitate constitutional amendments to effect such representation, and instructs the National Executive Committee to prepare literature for the education of the people on this idea." (Applause)

COMRADE BERGER: I am in favor of this resolution absolutely with one addition, that you say in there that, in addition to geographical lines, have also industrial groups represented. We have now a house and congress, both of them elected on geographical lines.

VICE CHAIRMAN BELOOF: The committee informs me that they don't accept that, and it will be necessary for you to make a motion.

COMRADE BLOCK: We discussed that in the committee and we decided that we were only in favor of one legislative body, and that the members of that body should be an industrial or occupational representation.

COMRADE BERGER: I want, in addition to the words, geographical representation, to have, industrial lines represented. I make this as an amendment.

COMRADE BLOCK: I am not in favor of the amendment.

COMRADE BERGER: You will never reach the entire population. You will run up against the same snag as the soviets did in Russia. In other words, you will have a soviet of lawyers, a soviet of bankers. I want all the people reached. If you accept my amendment by having geographical representation and industrial representation, you will reach them all.

As a matter of fact, you can have them in one house.

I don't say that you necessarily have to have two houses. You might elect the house partly by occupation and partly by geographical lines, only as a beginning, I think two houses would be more favorable and revolutionary enough to begin with. It would make the senate elected on industrial lines and the house on geographical lines.

COMRADE GOEBEL: I hope this will be defeated. Let us take a clearcut position. Let us stand upon our position as uncompromising and International Socialists, as we have set forth in our proclamation. That was the proposition accepted by the majority German Socialists in the congress at Weimar as opposed to the position adopted by our comrades in soviet Russia. Now, we are not worrying about the banker soviets. In Russia they are using them during the period of transition. What we want to do is to take a clearcut position, holding forth the idea that we are going to have a Socialist Society in which there will be no parties, but in which we will have a purely and exclusively government by the producing classes.

COMRADE BERLYN: I am opposed to it. This occu-

pational organization of society does not appeal to me as a Socialist. The occupational line is absolutely a group idea or anarchist proposition, but the general line of production shall be the only ones that shall decide as to the administration of its affairs.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is now 12:45, and the special order of business is the nomination of a provisional National Executive Committee.

The following comrades were nominated:

Melms, Brandt, O'Neal, Henry, Hager, Rower, Kruse, Stump, Wilson of Pennsylvania, Wilson of Illinois, Gerber, Lee, Engdahl, Berger, Sehl, Block, Delcof, Karlin, Jones, St. Clair, Villious, Sammers, Bailly, Chase, Bearak, Malkiel,

COMRADE ASKELI: I nominate one of the Finnish comrades Ten Hunen. (Cries of "No.")

Hilquist, Bernberg, Collins, Shaw, Cohen of Pennsylvania, Panken, Plunkett, Weiss.

COMRADE HOWE: A question of information. How many are to be elected?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Seven.

A COMRADE: I desire to know from the Chair whether or not there has been a motion made in this convention

and passed that any member of the old executive committee is not eligible to be elected to the new? (Cries of No!)

COMRADE BLOCK: I understand we are about to elect a temporary National Executive Committee to succeed the old, and we are electing this temporary committee under the present constitution, and not under the new constitution, which has not as yet been adopted, and which will not go into force until it has been adopted by a referendum vote of the Party membership. Under the present constitution the National Executive Committee consists of more than seven members; It consists of fifteen members; So that unless we have a specific motion to limit the number we must proceed under the present constitution.

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: The Chair will rule on that. You have provided in your rules for a committee of seven.

COMRADE WILSON: We do nothing of the kind. You provided that you should elect a committee, not naming the number. I presume that the consensus of the opinion of a motion to elect this committee was that we would elect according to the provisions of this con-

stitution because this is an emergency. The membership cannot elect a new committee now. You are going to have another convention in eight months. Are you going to elect a committee for four months and then submit this constitution to referendum, and then in the meantime between now and then, have a new election under the old constitution that you are trying to put out of business? The thing that the convention has to do is to take the bull by the horn and declare that we face an emergency, and we are going to elect this committee to serve until the next convention under the provisions of this constitution.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We can settle that very easy.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that this convention proceed to elect a temporary National Executive Committee of seven members.

Seconded.

COMRADE BRONSHAIN: I amend it to read, that no more than two of which shall be from the same state.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: Exactly.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is accepted in the original motion.

Carried.

COMRADE DREIFUS: No delegate can vote for more than two.

COMRADE BLOCK: He can vote for seven.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: But no more than two from each state.

A COMRADE: What is the length of the term of this temporary National Executive Committee?

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I understand that the motion reads "Until the next convention."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: To serve until the next convention and until their successors are elected and qualified.

COMRADE CRUSE: Provided this constitution is adopted.

COMRADE BLOCK: I think the committee could serve until the successors are elected; not necessarily until the next convention; because there is always a possibility that this proposal in the new constitution may not be adopted, and that the present constitution will stand.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I have ruled that it reads, "Until the next convention, or until their successors are elected." We will now read the lists for declination.

COMRADE O'NEAL: Owing to the fact that a number of comrades have spoken to me, I just want to make this short statement. I came to this convention with the conviction that no part of the old executive committee should serve. I haven't changed my mind. I merely offer that explanation to the comrades who have urged me to accept. I declined the nomination.

COMRADE AMERINGER: Hagel will accept.

COMRADE WOOL: I don't know anything about Hagel; who is he?

COMRADE HAGEL: Hagel belongs to a group of Socialists that organized a party down in Oklahoma in 1900, and he has been a Socialist ever since that time.

COMRADE BERGER: He is no orator (laughter).

COMRADE LEE: I very earnestly hope that Comrade O'Neal will reconsider his declination. I believe he is better fitted to be a member of the committee than I am.

The following comrades withdrew their names:
St. Clair, Stump, Gerber, Lee, Engdahl, Berger, Block,
Parken, Belooof, Sanders, Raily, Millius, Chase, Bearak,
Halkiel, Nilquist, Bernberg, Shaw, Cohen, Weiss.

COMRADE BLOCK: I want to say that I am heartily in favor of Comrade O'Neal accepting, and I see no logical reason for declining because he has been a member of the National Executive Committee. I think O'Neal is one of our most valuable and upright members. (Applause) I think he is thoroughly sane, thoroughly earnest and thoroughly retiring and modest, and I earnestly hope that he will accept that nomination and give us the benefit of his service on that committee.

COMRADE CHASE: I would like to make a statement in this record. I have been thinking this matter over carefully. I feel that the election of a committee of seven under a constitution which may or may not be adopted is absolutely opposed to the principles of Socialism, and that this convention is doing the very thing it accused us of doing, and for that reason I decline to be nominated.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: There is nothing before the house except to vote on the nomination.

A COMRADE: How about O'Neal?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: O'Neal's name stands, as I have been informed. (Loud and long applause).

COMRADE O'NEAL: I haven't changed my opinion since I came to the convention. I was sincere in that, even after the overwhelming evidence of the sentiment that my name shall appear on the ballot. MY OPINION HAS NOT CHANGED IN THE SLIGHTEST DEGREE.

COMRADE HOAN: I would like to move that it is the sense of this convention that O'Neal permit his name to stand.

Seconded and carried.

COMRADE LEE: Then I decline.

SECRETARY GLASSBERG: I will now read a list of the candidates who have accepted.

Nelms, Brandt, Henry, Haggel, Roewer, Kruse, Collins, Jones, Sehl, Karlin, Wilson of Illinois, Wilson of Pennsylvania, Ten Huhen and Plunkett.

COMRADE GERBER: I think at this time it may be well that we spend a few minutes on the qualifications of the comrades nominated to know who we are voting for. Some of us may know everybody nominated, and some may only know one or two, and some may know no one.

Here the qualifications of the nominees were briefly stated by some of the comrades.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Shall we proceed to vote?

(Cries of Yes).

COMRADE BERGER: Point of information. Are we to vote before we adjourn?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We will take this vote now unless there is objection, before we adjourn.

COMRADE BERGER: And then adjourn until 3 o'clock.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I don't know what we will do then. We will start it when we get there.

A COMRADE: Are we to vote for the seven candidates and the seven alternates on one ballot?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: No. The rule will be, if there is nothing to the contrary, also, that it must be a majority vote. You will sign your name on the back of your ballot.

The ballots were distributed to the comrades, and Comrades Krafft, Walkiell and Howe were appointed tellers.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: What is your judgment about adjourning until about 2:45?

A recess was taken until 2:45.

Friday, September 5, 1919,

2:45 o'clock P. . .

The convention was called to order by Chairman Stedman.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Comrade Howe, you will announce to the result of the election.

COLTRANE HOWE: Nobody is here.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That doesn't make any difference to me.

CONRADE HOWE: There were 99 ballots cast, making 50 necessary to a majority. The result is as follows:

O'Neal, 84; Brandt, 67; Wilson of Illinois, 72; Roewer, 70; Henry, 76; Wilson of Pennsylvania, 54; Melms, 65; Hagel, 64; Kruse, 26; ~~Melms~~ Karlin, 18; Jones, 15; Sehl, 21; Ten Huhen, 17; Plunkett, 15; Shaw, 10, Collins, 2. The seven highest are O'Neal, Henry, Wilson of Illinois, Roewer, Brandt, Melms and Hagel. Wilson of Pennsylvania got more than the majority; he got 64.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will declare the first seven names elected. I will appoint new tellers, and they will now distribute ballots for the election of alternates.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: Would it be out of order to move that the men next on the list remain as alternates?

(Cries of No.)

The following comrades were nominated as alternates: Wilson of Pennsylvania, Lee of New York, Carlin, Plunkett, Annala, Jones, Sehl, Block, Belcof, Quinlan, Shaw, Ten Huhen, Doerfler.

COMRADE BRONSTEIN: Would it be proper to recommend that Wilson of Pennsylvania stand elected, as he had a majority of votes?

(Cries of No).

The following declinations were made: Jones, and Belcof.

The ballots were distributed and Comrade Lefin, Shiplacoff and Hyde were appointed tellers.

The result of the balloting was as follows:

Wilson, 54; Plunkett, 45; Lee, 43; Shaw, 43;
Annala, 41; Doerfler, 40; Sehl, 39; Block, 39;
Quinlan, 34; Carlin, 31; Ten Huhen, 14.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Those who are elected are as follows: Wilson, Plunkett, Shaw, Lee, Annala, Doerfler, and a tie between Block and Sehl of 39 each;

COMRADE BLOCK: I will withdraw.

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: That makes seven, and I declare those seven elected. Comrade Berlyn had the floor and was interrupted by a special order of business. If he is not here we will proceed.

COMRADE BLOOM: We were considering the adoption of the Resolution with respect to legislative representation, being based on industrial groups instead of geographical groups.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I move to strike out that part of the resolution which speaks about it being a constitutional amendment, so that the resolution will read that we favor such and such a thing. I don't remember the exact words.

The resolution as offered was adopted.

COMRADE BERNBERG: The next resolution is on the question of International relations. The Resolution committee was not in entire agreement on this question. So we are submitting a majority report, signed by eleven, and a minority report, signed by the other two members of the committee.

The Resolution is as follows:

"The Second International is no more. We re-

pudiate the Berne Conference as retrograde and failing to act in the interests of the working class. It is the duty of the Socialist Party of the United States actively to participate in the speediest possible convocation of an International Socialist Congress and to make every effort to reconstitute the functioning of the International.

"In the reconstituted Socialist International only such organizations and parties should be given representation which declare their strict adherence by word and deed to the principle of the class struggle.

"To such an International must be invited the Communist Parties of Russia and Germany and those Socialist parties in all countries which subscribe to the principle of the class struggle. No party which participates in a government coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie shall be invited.

"In such Congress our Party should urge the reconstruction of the worldwide organization of the Socialist proletariat upon closer and firmer lines than have prevailed in the past, to the end that the Revolutionary Proletarian forces of the world may at every

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critical moment be effectively mobilized for simultaneous and harmonious action."

Signed by S. M. Neistadt, Morton F. Plunkett, David P. Berenberg, S. John Block, Joseph E. Cohen, Seymour Steadman, George Roewer, Victor L. Berger, Algernon Lee and G. A. Hoehn.

CHAIRMAN STEADMAN: I understand there is a minority report which will be offered as a substitute.

COMRADE ENGDAHL: This is the minority report, signed by two members of the committee.

"We consider that the Second International ceased to function as an International Socialist body upon the outbreak of the world war.

All efforts to bring together the elements that made up the former International have only added strength to this conviction. The Berne Conference was a notable example of this collapse, especially with reference to its failure to take a helpful attitude toward Russia, and its policy of hanging on to the tails of the Peace Conference in Paris, and placid acceptance of rebuffs given it by members of that conference, the refusal of Russians passports, for instance.

Any International, to be affected in this crisis

is, must contain only those elements who take their stand unreservedly upon the basis of the class struggle, and who, by their deeds, demonstrate that their adherence to this principle is not mere lip loyalty.

When leading Socialists join their National Governments upon a coalition basis they accept and sanction policies which hinder Socialists and the working class generally from taking full advantage of the opportunities for deepseated change, which the war created. This makes the workers contempt with superficial reformist changes, which are readily granted by the capitalist class as a means of self-protection from the rising tide of working class revolt.

And when Socialists use the military organization of the Master class as a means of crushing the agitation of their more radical comrades, they flatly take their position with the counter-revolutionary whom they serve.

The Second International is dead. We consider that a new International, which contains those groups which contributed to the downfall of our former organization, must be so weak in its Socialist policy as to be useless.

The Socialist Party of the United States, in principle and in its past history, has always stood with these elements of other countries that remained true to their principles. . . The Manifestos adopted in National Convention at St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919), as well as Referendum "D" 1919 unequivocally affirm this stand. . . These parties, the majority parties of Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and growing minorities in every land, or uniting on the basis of the preliminary convocation, at Moscow, of the Third International. . . As in the past, so in this extreme crisis, we must take our stand with them.

The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the "Moscow" programmes and methods, but because:

(a) "Moscow" is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

(b) "Moscow" is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world, simply because it is proletarian.

(c) Under these circumstances, whatever

we may have to say to Moscow afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now, because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist Republic in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come." (Applause)

COMRADE HOHEN: The three concluding paragraphs of the minority report are the best argument in favor of the majority report. I am for the Moscow or Third International and decidedly so, but this does not mean that I am for the minority report. It is not a question of now deciding in favor of Moscow or in favor of Berne, or deciding in favor of Lenine and Trotzky or Scheidemann. This is the situation in Europe.

They succeeded in crushing soviet Hungary. The next move of International Imperialism is to crush soviet Russia. Now, what becomes our duty? Can we fight about a little congress with half a dozen or several dozen members that may sit in Moscow, or in Berne?

That is not the question. The great question before the proletariat of all countries today is, how can we support soviet Russia? Can we support soviet Russia

by passing a little resolution here, just to show our preference to the Third International? No. Our main

object must be to united and solidify the Socialist and labor movement in England, in France, Italy and America, so that the proletariat of these countries can covenant to keep hands off soviet Russia, because when soviet Russia falls it means that black reaction will set in all over Europe, and it will reach America, so the comrades who signed the majority report, had that in view. You know what the trades unions did when on the 20th and 21st of July, they worked in Transylvania and France and Italy in behalf of soviet Russia. It is true that the demonstration and the general strike was not the success it should have been, but it was the first combined and united effort in behalf of soviet Russia. Shall we at this time have a little sectarian fight about a Second or Third International, about Karl Marx and about Lenine? No. Let's stand by the labor movement and by the International movement, and then that International Congress, whether it is to be the second or third International, will be settled in the very near future. It cannot be settled today or tomorrow. It is the European working class that will have to settle this. And so I appeal to you in behalf of

soviet Russia, and in behalf of our poor comrades in Russia, that you adopt the majority report. (Applause)

COMRADE KRUSE: The argument that is raised here is very interesting. First, I want to protest against the submission of the report in this form, because, when we adjourned last night, and we have had no meeting of the committee since then, we had agreed that there was going to be three reports submitted to this Convention. There was a majority report signed by Berger, Steadman, Lee and Hoehn, and others, which did not go any where, and there was a minority report signed by Plunkett, Heistadt and Bernberg, which was very substantially what this is, and there was a further minority report signed by Engdahl and myself. I submit to the Convention before any change in those reports should have been reported in here, it should first have been brought to the attention of the committee. This Convention is supposed to represent the membership, and that membership has already spoken on that question. All over the world a discussion similar to this has taken part in every Socialist Party.

All over the world there is a new lining up. All over the world there is an honest desire for all Socialists to get together on an International basis, but all over the world most of the Socialists recognize that the basis upon which we should get together must be a more substantial basis, must be a basis more of principle than that which, as a puff of smoke in 1914 was blown to the four winds. We have been discussing this subject for four years; not only for a few hours. When we want to rebuild an International Organization, we should build it out of material that is tried and not found wanting. There is a certain group of officials of the majority Socialist Party in the world that think they see one way bringing about an International Congress. It is significant that in these groups are those majority Socialists that stood true in the war. Those Socialist parties include the Italians, the Swede, the Norwegians, and they include a large portion of some of the other countries. These parties are trying to reconstitute the International through the Moscow Conference. We are not asking just flat affiliation with the Moscow Conference. We are asking that we join

in that effort to bring together an International Organization that is worth while, and that will stand for something. For the sake of the good of the Socialist Party, if you want to make it easy for us to stay together during this crisis, don't pass anything that is a straddle; don't pass anything that is a covert endorsement of the thing we have to face, but come out and stand with your face to the future.

COMRADE TRACHTENBERG: I would ask the committee to include in their report a certain provision which, if they adopt it, I would favor that report. But they refused it. We have to choose between Berne and Moscow. I don't want to make the choice. The Moscow Conference does not represent anything tangible. The Conference at Moscow could not represent all parties because these people could not go to Moscow. The comrades in the movement in America have got to make up their minds, and as far as I know the great mass of our membership has made up their mind, and I think I follow the Socialist literature about as much as anybody else here in America. I wish I could show you the proceedings of the Berlin Conference. I would be wil-

ling to endorse the Moscow International, but if it is a choice to adopt that without a condemnation of the Berne Conference, then I say, I have nothing else to choose but to vote for the minority. I proposed to the committee that provision and they ignored it, and that gives me the sanction of supporting the minority report, because I think the majority does not want to say anything on the Berne Conference.

CONRAD PAIKEN: The argument made by Kruse is very peculiar. He states that the question is, choosing between Schieleman and the Moscow Conference. If he read carefully the resolution presented by the committee, he will find that the committee recommends that no party which participates in a government coalition should be invited; that that would exclude the German majority group; that would exclude the groups in Europe who have formed coalitions with Bourgeoisie parties in governmental affairs. I am calling the attention of the convention to that particular fact so that we know just what the resolution as presented by the committee really calls for. As to the argument made by Trachtenberg, and I am very sympathetic with his

views, the proposal made by him that there be a condemnation of the Berne Conference, cannot be accepted. The statement as to our position with reference to the Berne Conference might be a logical thing to do at this time, but, if you condemn the Berne Conference, you must remember that German Socialists were also represented in Berne, and you must realize that there were some other groups who were represented. The French group was represented in the Berne Conference. So a condemnation of the Berne Conference would do a great deal more harm than Comrade Trachtenberg says that it would do. As to the membership of the Socialist Party directly is concerned, it seems to me that the Party membership is concerned with one thing primarily, and that thing is that the Socialist Party of the United States should not recognize or should not agree to enter into a conference or an International Congress with the Scheide- man and Eberts. That is provided for in the resolution as submitted by the committee, which is the majority report. Shall the Socialist Party of the United States take the position that we are going to stand by Moscow and not by any other Socialist movement, or

shall we take the position that the Socialist Party of the United States is ready to enter into an International Congress in which all parties, Russians, Italians, English, German, and all other Socialist groups, are in, in view of this very paragraph in the resolution submitted by the majority of the committee:

"The party which participates in a government coalition with parties of the Bourgeoisie shall be invited".

That satisfies me, and that will satisfy the party membership of the United States. (Applause)

COMRADE BECKENBACH: If the issue was that the Socialist Party of America should decide between the Moscow International and the Berne International, the sympathies of the Socialist Party of America would be entirely with the Moscow International. Unfortunately that is not the issue that is being brought up on the floor this afternoon, and I regret exceedingly that, as it seems to me, consciously or unconsciously, it has been distorted by those who would state that that is the issue between the Berne Conference and the Moscow Conference. The resolution distinctly rules out the majority Socialists of Germany. It rules out all

so-called Socialists that have entered into a coalition government with the Bourgeoisie. It rules out all those elements in the Berne Conference who have formed a reunion with the bourgeoisie of their particular country. The question is not between the Berne Conference and the Moscow Conference. Moscow is Socialist but it is not International; Berne is an International but it is not Socialist. (Applause) And it is the aim of the Socialist movement of America, so much as it is in its power and its influence, to create an International where the radical Socialist movement from any country will be present. Sentimentally I am with Moscow, but we want something more than a sentimental International. We want an International that is able to make decisions and enforce those decisions after they are made. We want representatives at the International who can go back to their countries and carry out the decisions of the International. The Moscow International exclude the powerful radical Socialist group of England and France. It is an International mostly of Eastern Europe, and the powerful radical Socialist group of England and

France are excluded in that Moscow International. It should be the position and the aim of the Socialist movement in America not to condemn anybody or anything, but merely to state its position as to what should be the best course of getting together a new International, and it seems to me that the majority of the committee, in presenting as a basis for an International, those Socialists who do not believe in coalition with bourgeois element, and excluding those who believe in it, and including those who don't, is taking the right position, and we should support the majority for that is the only way to build up a new International, a thing that is absolutely essential at this time. (Applause)

COMRADE WILSON OF ILLINOIS: I don't believe that the minority report is asking the delegates to vote to affiliate with Moscow, but I am for the Third International because there is not anything else to be for at the present time. (Applause) The Second International is dead and buried. It is rotten, and you can smell it yet. Ever since the 4th day of August, 1914, it was used as a football by the allied govern-

ments and the Berne Conference shows that all of the substance had been sucked out of it before the fellows got together at Berne. I don't mean to say that there were no Socialists at that conference. There were. There was a majority represented or a minority representing various countries there, but the majority report here seems to act upon the theory that inasmuch as the Second International is dead and Moscow and Berne are not to be accepted, and that the Third International is not an International yet but only the promise of something for the future, we therefore, the Socialists of the United States, should stand on the outside and wait until these Socialists in Italy, in Norway, in Sweden, in Russia, and these other countries, show where they stand, and until they get an organized International, and then we would look it over and say, "Yes, it is nice. We will hand in our application." There is only one thing that is in existence today that is worth joining with, and that is what is called the Third International of Moscow. It has the advanced progressive and radical element with it now, and it will have more of them when the time goes by, and I think personally that the minority report should

be adopted. I don't think it is going to hurt us. I am not laboring under any delusion that what we do here today is going to help greatly. I know these fellows have to fight their fight over there, but I don't want any doubt in anybody's mind as to where I stand, as between the people that are struggling for the democracy that is being created by the soviets of Russia and the people that met and passed resolutions at Berne. I am with the people that were at Moscow.

CONRALL COOK: As far as I am concerned I don't set forth any claim to understand technically the International organizations. I do know that we want to take a clear position for an uncompromising fair struggle in a new International, and I do want the most radical forces of the entire world united with us in that new International. I feel that with such a position the will of the rank and file will be practically expressed. I am fully satisfied with the Majority resolution. I don't believe that the minority resolution is vitally different except in one instance. The one point that I differ with the minority position is this; that it demands that we support or affiliate, rather, (which it means) with the

Third International, which we are not competent to judge or speak of. I think the majority report where it says at the last of the third paragraph, "Shall be invited", should read "shall be included". With that kind of statement I think that we state our position with the radical forces of the world as against the compromising forces, and to that extent we will have taken our position with the Italians as well as the other comrades in Europe.

A COMRADE: We would be willing to accept that.

COMRADE BIRNBERG: The committee accept the recommendation. I think the majority committee has agreed to begin the Resolution with the words "The Second International is dead". That will cover a great many objections.

COMRADE BLOOM: Or, "Is no more." (This is as it appears in the report heretofore transcribed).

COMRADE O'NEAL: I think the majority Resolution would be satisfactory to us if certain words were added. A number of comrades so regard it, and I have agreed to insert a provision as an amendment to the majority report, "We repudiate the Berne Conference as retrograde

and failing to act in the interests of the working class."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Will the committee accept that?

COMRADE BERENSON: Yee. (This insertion appears in the majority resolution previously transcribed).

COMRADE O'NEAL: On the other hand, I want to call attention to the fact that there has been a number of translations of the Moscow Manifesto. So far as I have been able to ascertain no two of them agree. They are much alike but there are some important passages that don't agree. I have brought to the convention here translations published in the Left Wing Publication. I might say this, that this Moscow Manifesto, in my judgment, is one of the most powerful, one of the most important, and one of the most inspiring documents that has appeared since the Manifesto of 1848. I am one of those who contend that this translation completely defines the position that the Party has held in this country in our controversy with the Communists within the Party. However, there is one passage in it that we should all understand before we proceed to vote on the resolution here this

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afternoon. It reads as follows: "The Third International is an International of open mass action of revolutionary realization and international peace. Now, in other words, in that one passage there is contained an answer to the so-called philosophy of the communists who left this convention, and some of them who we have put out, and yet this passage disagrees with other passages preceding it. Therefore the manifesto is self-contradictory. It appears to be an attempt to reconcile two or three elements within the Moscow Conference. Now, then, considering that those who attended the Moscow Conference were themselves not entirely agreed, that they themselves had their differences, that their differences are apparent in the very document which they have published to the world, why should we go on record as not being able to recognize the various translations, to say nothing of being able to reconcile one part of the manifesto with another. Why should we go on record and approve every thing done by the Moscow International when we ourselves don't know exactly what they stand for.

COMRADE COHEN OF PENNSYLVANIA: Speaking for the majority report, as to this issue between the Schei-

demann, on the one hand, and the Liebnechs on the other, we don't take the position here, the rank-and-file will. When the minority report comes in here, and offers you what is supposed to be a declaration in favor of the Moscow International, and then winds up by the last clause and tells you how we shall strive for the call which was issued by the Moscow International, although we may not believe everything it does, then you are a whole lot worse than to stay entirely out of the Moscow International and wait until you see what the International chooses to do. It is entirely true, that the Berne Conference means that the Second International is practically dead. The Berne Conference was the answer to the Second International, but, unfortunately, the attempt of the Moscow Conference to send a call for the Third International has not yet been answered. The fact is that the Italian socialists, the Slavish and Swiss groups, and the small groups elsewhere, have chosen to respond to the Moscow call. Unfortunately the Moscow International has not been answered, and possibly the working class of Europe gave very good reasons why it has not been answered in the affirmative. What remains is the attempt to organize a Third International on such a basis as we believe, not only in our own country but the mass of the working class of the European countries, we can respond to.

21 COMRADE ORR: I want to amend the third paragraph of the

majority report by adding one sentence, "It is understood that the Socialists of the United States of America will not send any delegates to any International to which the majority socialists of Germany and the socialist patriots of Europe are invited."

Seconded.

COMRADE ORR: May I talk on it?

CHAIRMAN STADMAN: No. We will now have the closing of the debate by Comrade Engdahl for the minority report as a substitute for the majority report, and the reply by Comrade Berenberg.

COMRADE ENGDALH: No one regrets more than the minority on the resolutions committee that we should be compelled to bring in a minority report to this convention. We have struggled in every way we possibly could to endorse the resolutions that were brought in here. But, we feel that the great issue at stake, and that was at stake in our manifesto adopted yesterday, the great issue at stake is just where we stand in our International relations. There was a vast difference of opinion among the members of the committee. There were some comrades who wanted to leave the way open so that we could come back into the Second International if we wanted to. There was a minority on the committee that wanted the endorsement of the Third International. And, there were others who wanted to

wait until they could take the position that they thought might be correct. As a result of our struggle in that committee, we finally had one faction of that committee abandon its position and no report is brought in here, asking you to join or to reaffiliate with the Second International. The center position or the middle position we strengthened here on the stage to such an extent that the majority on the committee now admits that the Second International is dead; something they didn't admit yesterday; something they didn't admit yesterday. Now, I don't claim to be a very great authority, or any authority at all, on the International situation; but, I have struggled to find out just where I thought that the Socialist party of the United States should stand. And, in drawing up this short statement, we have used a statement of the Italian socialist Party as our basis. Now, we take great pleasure and feel inspired with hope when we say that the American Socialist Party took its position side by side with the Italian socialist Party as the only two parties in the world that had a majority against the war and against world imperialism. If we had followed that position logically, we would have severed our relations with the Second International, with the International of the great betrayer; we would have severed relations with that International way back in 1915 when the Socialist Party of Italy called its International Conference of anti-

war socialists. We would have gone in with the Italian socialists and the Swiss socialists, and our comrades in Germany and Austria and Hungary and the other nations, where the socialists were fighting the war, and where they were fighting imperialism, in spite of the war- we would have gone to the conference in Switzerland in 1916, we would have gone to Stockholm with them in 1917 and stayed with them there, rather than continue our affiliation with the Second International, with w om the Scheidemanns and all the other pro-war socialists and patriotic factions of the International met in Stockholm in 1917. The Third International, it wasn't born in Moscow. The Third International was born out of the agony and the sufferings of the toiling masses of the world in the midst of a world war. The Third International as organized at Moscow is only the effort of the International working classes fighting imperialism and fighting capitalism during the war. This is 1919. The Third International was really formed in 1915, four years ago. we have remained ~~undecided~~ undecided during these four years as to what our International relations really should be. For these long years we have hesitated. Now we are asked by the majority to hesitate just a little bit longer, to wait just a little bit longer, and not take any action now. I don't know why we should not take action.

Some of the comrades like to hesitate, to wait; that is the position that is adopted by some; but it does not seem to get results. In fact, in our manifesto yesterday we denounced the pro-war socialists of Germany and all other countries, because they were too timid, because they would not conclude to take a logical position that they should take as the spokesman of the working classes of their respective countries. Now, if we are to be the real working class, the political expression of the working class of this country, let's ally ourselves with the revolutionary forces of socialism throughout the world under the standard of the Third International. (Applause)

COMRADE BERENBERG: This question is not one that can be settled by acting now. The fact is that we don't really know very much about the Moscow International. The fact is that the minority resolution, in asking us to ally ourselves with the Third International, asks us to do something which we have not been able to discuss with the party membership. It is not true that we have been able to talk this thing over. You know that dissensions in the party have made it absolutely impossible to go into anything but one side of the Moscow proposition. Anybody who took a position against the Moscow International has in the past been held up as a socialist traitor and a traitor to the Russian revolution, without being given an opportu-

nity to explain himself. Now, then, this resolution of ours, if you listen to it carefully, does not exclude the possibility of a filiating with the Moscow International. It does definitely cut us away from the Second International, by the statement that the Second International is no more. "We repudiate the Berne Conference as retrograde and failing to act in the interests of the working class." So much for the past. Now, we are looking to the future. Now for the future. The majority of your committee takes this position that, rather than enumerate a long list of parties and groups which shall be excluded, we lay down a principle-- we lay down, in fact, two principles: one is, whether or not the party concerned subscribes to the principles of the class struggle by word and deed; in the second place, whether the party in question ~~has~~ subscribesto the principle of coalition government. If it does, if it subscribes to the principle of coalition government with the bourgeoisie groups, if it goes into coalition government with bourgeoisie groups, such a party is excluded from the call to the new International. Now, then, there is a position which intelligent and careful thinking socialists can take; a position which is the only logical one, under the circumstances. Now, let me point out, for one moment, the attitude of some who would commit us to the Moscow International. During the committee sessions, this was discussed

fairly well by Kruse and Engdahl. Kruse made an impassioned address against the Berne Conference, and then, when somebody on the committee--I believe it was Stedman--asked him point blank, "What acts of the Berne Conference do you object to?" Kruse was absolutely non-plussed; he had no answer to make. That is the situation with a great many people who condemn, and condemn, and condemn, and don't know exactly what they are up to. (Applause) Now, we didn't take the attitude of condemning anything but that which we know about. We know that the Second International is no longer a functioning group, to a very large extent. We know that the German socialists, the majority socialists, are really no longer a socialist group, and that, in coming into a coalition government, they betrayed the working class of the world. Therefore, we exclude these groups from the new International to which we are tending. What are the socialist groups?

All groups, that subscribe to the class struggle and all groups that refuse to enter the coalition cabinet, the coalition government and accept responsibility for acts which they properly should not accept responsibility for. These groups shall be included in our call. I will read the resolution, or the important part of it: "To such an International must be invited the Communist Parties of Russia and Germany and those Socialist parties in all countries which subscribe to the principles of the class struggle. No party

which participates in a coalition government with parties of the bourgeoisie shall be invited." The only difference between this resolution and the other is that the other is an unqualified endorsement of Moscow. I ask you, therefore, not to endorse the minority report, but to endorse the majority report of your committee.

COMRADE ASKELI: I demand a roll call.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, there will be a roll call.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF : You have disenfranchised several of us from voting on this important question by sending us out to do certain work, and I request you, for the sake of the least of us, that you have them read, because we don't know what you are discussing. (Comrade Shiplacoff had reference to his work in canvassing the ballot on the election of seven alternate members of the temporary N.E.C.)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Read the majority and the minority report. (The same were read.)

COMRADE KRUSE: What are the reservations of Comrade Lee?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Are there any reservations, Comrade Lee?

COMRADE LEE: I think the statement that the Second International is dead is a statement of fact in advance of the fact, of which we don't know anything about. I have no objection to putting forth the statement in there if we have to. The

substance of the resolution is satisfactory.

COMRADE LADUCA: Can we get a roll call list where by we can check this vote?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The former secretary has walked off with the check. You come right up here and watch over this secretary's shoulder. I haven't got the roll-calls. I am not carrying the stationery around with me. Proceed to call the roll. This vote is on the minority report.

The following comrades voted "Yes":

Cohen, of Washington, D.C.; Howe, Wilson, Engdahl, Laffin, Kruse, Wenschoff, Hammond, Askeli, Dreifuss, Henry, Makela, Goldberg, Kastoff, Annala, Boxer, Anderson, Butler, Chase, Jones, Weiss, Downs, Haydon, Means, Schlegel, Selleman, Stumpf, Wilson of Pennsylvania and Moilin. Total, 34.

The following comrades voted "No:"

Edlin, McCarthy, Plunkett, Stedman, Germer, Berlin, Beloof, Haller, Neistadt, Visterson, Bearak, Marcus, Rower, Rubenstein, Lipscomb, Hoehn, Brandt, Floaten, Krafft, Beckerman, Berenberg, Block, Claessens, Cook, Dennis, Gerber, Glassberg, Hedman, Larlin, Trachtenberg, Lee, Anita C. Block, Malkiel, Noonan, Oneal, Panken, Robinson, Breckenridge, Salutsky, Sanders, Sheahan, Solomon, Wood, Bartos, Nagle, Smith, Stauber, Bixler, Cohen of Pennsylvania, Wuler, Sehl, Young, Ameringer, Berger, Coleman, Doerfler, Hoan, Cheman, Jensen, Melms, and DeSombre. Total, 61.

COMRADE LA DUCA: Battistoni left, but told me that they had instructions to vote "no" for their locals.

CHAIRMAN: It is up to the house.

A COMRADE: When a delegate leaves the convention, the alternate takes his place.

COMRADE COOK: Comrade Lulow votes Yes. , because he got his instructions from his organization. He asked that he be recorded as not voting.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Any other unrecorded votes?

COMRADE GOLDSTEIN: Comrade Cohen of Washington telephoned she could not be here, but she wanted to vote Yes, for the minority.

Comrades Quinlan and Waldman did not vote.

COMRADE STEDMAN: Now, the vote upon the adoption of the majority report.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: will it be in order for me to make a motion at this time or make an offer that the minority report also be submitted to referendum?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I see no objection to it, although I suggest that you wait until after the other is disposed of.

COMRADE KRUSE: In connection with Comrade Beckerman's motion, I might say that almost enough signatures have been collected now, and any delegate that wishes to submit this to the membership is asked to sign the statement to that

effect.

A motion was made that the amendment of Comrade Orr be submitted with the motion.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: That amendment is practically contrary to the resolution itself. I rule that it is. In other words, the resolution contemplates the Socialists of Europe. For instance, the Socialist party of England which certainly supports the English government. By this amendment it would strike out the Socialists of England who might attend such a conference. I shall rule, therefore, it out of order.

COMRADE ORR: The majority resolution does not make any statement at all in any particular ~~as~~ to whether the Socialist party of the United States will at all send delegates to participate when the delegates of Germany are invited, in view of the fact that there is no statement made which is contrary to the general provisions and the intent of the majority resolution. Consequently, it can be an amendment to that resolution.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The first part of it may be true, but when you say the Socialist Party of Europe, wouldn't that include all the French socialists?

COMRADE ORR: No.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: They are all in one party. Wouldn't that include them? Wouldn't that include the Socialists

of England who supported their government in the war?

COMRADE ORR: No.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I shall rule it out of order.

Cries of "question."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: All in favor of the majority report as amended will say "Aye." (Roll call demanded.)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It will be submitted to a referendum anyway. The ayes seem to have it. (A division called.)

(By a "raise of the hand" vote, the majority report was adopted, 56 votes being counted for and 26 against the adoption of the majority report.)

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The motion is adopted for the majority report. Now we will proceed to hear the balance of the resolutions.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: Is it in order to make a motion?

COMRADE STEDMAN: If there is no objection, I will entertain a motion that these two resolutions be submitted to a referendum.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I make such a motion.

Seconded. Carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: When we adjourned today, we had before this convention, undisposed of,--when the floor was taken away from Comrade Berlyn--the question of an amendment to the constitution. The proposition, as I recall it, was passed.

COMRADE PANKEN: Yes, it was passed. Let's get through.

COMRADE BLOCK: The next is a resolution on military training (Reads).

COMRADE WALDMAN: I move that the last part of the resolution be stricken out.

Seconded.

I mean the last sentence which says: "Look out, gentlemen, if you ever do this, we are going to use your guns in order to shoot you down." If we can do that, let us not be opposed to universal military training. If we can sway our boys when they get the guns, in order to overthrow the capitalist class, I will be in favor of universal military training. But to vote in favor of a resolution against it with an empty threat, which would say to the capitalist class, "Look out, gentlemen, if you do that we will likely appropriate the weapon, which you create," I am opposed to such childlike declaration.

COMRADE ENGDAHL: It does not strengthen the resolution a particle.

COMRADE ASKELI: If you take the last paragraph out throw the entire resolution in the wastebasket. That is what it amounts to. You simply take the meat out.

of the thing and leave the bone; that's all. I am for the resolution as it was read, but if you strike that part out, it's no good at all.

COMRADE HOEHN: By striking out the last paragraph the resolution will be strengthened; with that paragraph it will be weakened.

On motion, said paragraph was stricken out.

On motion, the Resolution, as amended, was adopted, and is as follows:

"The Socialist Party in National Convention assembled, in Chicago, September 3rd, 1919, draws attention to the well-organized movement and propaganda thruout the country and in congress for the purpose of forcing universal military training upon the youth of the country.

"We call attention to the fact that the great world war was fought by the United States for the avowed purpose of abolishing war and conscription everywhere. For the alleged ideal 5,000,000 of our youth were conscripted to destroy the system of Prussian militarism, the existence of which was alleged to stand as a menace to the entire world.

"Now that Prussian militarism has poses to fasten universal conscription abolished in Germany, the present administration in the United States proposed to fasten universal conscription upon America.

"The Socialist Party registers its emphatic disapproval of universal military training, not alone because of its ethical opposition to war as a survival of barbarism, but also because it recognizes that one of the chief purposes of an army is to maintain the power of the capitalist state and supply it with a might weapon against labor in revolt."

COMRADE BLOCK: The next resolution is on the Plumb Plan.

COMRADE DREYFUS: I don't think that we should adopt that Resolution. I don't think it is necessary.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I am against the resolution after having heard it read. It has a string instead of a backbone. We have done a whole lot better and more revolutionary in the general manifesto we have already adopted. I move that we table the resolution.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will not entertain the motion at this time until we have heard arguments against

the resolution. (Applause)

COMRADE KARLIN: From the standpoint of the labor unions themselves, if we are going to label this as a soviet document, the railroad proprietors are going to use it against the unions, and the unions will not be thankful to us, for the apparent help we are trying to give them. On the other hand, if we cannot come out and endorse the plan, the unions are not going to regard any labeling of the Plan as a friendly act. I believe this resolution should be voted down, and that is the best thing for us and the best thing for the unions.

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A COMRADE FROM WISCONSIN: I want to say that I believe, if we want to endorse the Plumb Plan, we should not put a string to it. I happen to be the executive adviser of the State Federation of Labor, and in the last Convention, and they went on record as in favor of the Plumb Plan.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Have you an amendment to propose?

THE COMRADE: The committee ought to present a new resolution endorsing the Plumb Plan, but not with a string attached to it.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Even the labor bodies are making the criticism that the classified employees only have five as representatives out of fifteen, so that it would be proper to at least qualify in that respect.

COMRADE ORR: I move that this resolution be tabled.

SECONDED.

COMRADE BLOCK: All in favor of it will say Aye.
(A division was called, and by a "raise of the hand vote" the motion to table was defeated by a vote of 48 to 23.)

COMRADE WALDMAN: Will you read the resolution again?
(Read)

COMRADE KARLIN: I move that the word "soviet" be stricken out of that.

Seconded.

COMRADE BERGER: And put the words "labor council" instead of "soviet."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Are you ready for the question?

(Cries of question)

First, as to the amendment, striking out the word "soviet". The "Noes" seem to have it. All in favor of the resolution, say Aye. The Ayes seem to have it, and the resolution is adopted.

The Resolution is as follows:

("The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention assembled at Chicago, September 4th, 1919, adopts the following resolution:

"It is the aim of the Socialist Party to gain for the workers ownership and management of all industries. The plan for joint control and operation of the railroads by the federal government and the railroad workers, commonly known as the Plumb Plan, indicates a realization on the part of the railroad workers that the achievement of full justice for the workers lies in the direction of the collective ownership and dem-

ocratic management of industry.

"We believe that every such step brings the worker closer to the Socialist position.

"The Socialist Party, therefore, while recognizing the inadequacy of the provisions of workers' representation under the Plumb Plan, and although not approving the method by which the Plumb Plan would cause the railroad to be acquired, recognizes in it the first concrete evidence of the spread among the American workers of the soviet idea of workers' control of industry.

"We urge all labor organizations to study and endorse the Socialist plans for the democratization of industry."

COMRADE BLOCK: The next resolution is on Jewish Programs. (Reads)

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move to strike out the words "in one instance". I think it is exaggerated, and not true probably.

CHAIRMAN SIEDMAN: Is there a second to the amendment to strike out the words "in a single instance"? Will you accept it?

COMRADE BLOCK: I think they do. There are fifteen

members on the committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, all right. All in favor of the resolution, as read and corrected, will say "Aye".

Unanimously carried.

The resolution is as follows:

"Whereas, the reactionary officials of Poland and the so-called "buffer" states established by the allied powers in the name of democracy and the self-determination of small nationalities, have instigated the commission of the grossest acts of murder, rapine, and pillage against the men, women and children of the Jewish race, under the pretext that the said men, women and children are the supporters of Bolshevism and Sovietism, and

Whereas, the reactionaries of all countries pit race against race, in order to suppress the people from revolting against oppression and imperialism and in order to divert the attention of the people from the misdeeds of their rulers, and

Whereas, both in Soviet Russia and in Soviet Hungary, when the government was in control of the Soviets, no persecution or violation of the rights

of minorities occurred,

It is therefore resolved, that the Socialist Party of the United States of America condemns the instigators of such pogroms against the members of the Jewish race in whatever country the same is committed, and proclaim that these pogroms have almost invariably followed wherever reaction encounter revolution succeeded in place of Socialist governments, as in Hungary and Ukraine. Such pogroms and counter revolutions going hand in hand.

The Socialist Party called upon the Socialists of those countries to take measures to protect the Jews, and all minorities against murder, rapine and pillage."

COMRADE BLOOM: The next resolution is on the Espionage Law. It reads as follows:

"The Socialist Party in National Convention assembled adopt the following Resolution :

"The American people long considered the civil liberties of this country, guaranteed by our Constitution, as sacred and fixed. So pronounced were their convictions that, when a political party once denied these liberties by passing alien and sedi-

tion laws, this party was destroyed by the people. At that time free speech and freedom of the press were vigorously held to be essential to liberty and progress.

Taking advantage of the frenzy and war-mad dizziness of the people, the capitalists of this country procured from a subservient and reactionary Congress the passage of the Espionage Law, which, unless repealed, is in force whenever the United States is at war. The Court's construction of this law empowers any prejudiced jury or impatient judge to interpret any written or spoken statement as an attempt to disapprove recruiting and enlistment, and, therefore a crime, punishable by a fine of up to \$10,000.00, or imprisonment for up to twenty years, or both.

A criticism which may by any subtle method of reasoning be considered as a disapprobation of any war in which the United States is engaged, is sufficient to constitute an offense. The prosecution under this act has resulted in punishments, the brutality of which is unmatched in the most autocratic and tyrant-ridden countries of Europe. The plain meaning of the constitution of the United States, and the interpre-

tation placed upon it by the average man is subverted by this law. It has destroyed civil liberty in the United States. This law encourages and provokes, and even invites a resort to physical violence and breeds forcible resentment in opposition to orderly progress.

We declare it to be essential in government that the minority shall have the right to convert the majority to its opinions, and this is fundamental in the very structure of democracy. This essential right in a free government is impossible where the minority cannot speak, and we declare that it is an insolent outrage for any public official, no matter how exalted his rank, to speak for an administration or its policies when a gag is upon the lips of those who should have the lawful right to disagree with and to challenge his position and to reply thereto.

We, therefore, demand the immediate repeal of the Espionage Law, and the reestablishment of constitutional civil liberty in the United States, the

right of the minority, as well as the majority, freely to write and to speak upon all government policies and principles, and all public questions, to the end that we may have progress in this country without chaos and without resort to armed conflict."

COMRADE BLOCK: The Convention received the following letter from S. H. Pratto, of Chicago, dated, Chicago, September 3rd. I will read it because it is connected with the next resolution.

Chicago, September 3rd, 1919.

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

The undersigned representative in the United States of the Liga del Resistencia del Partido Socialista de Yucatan, an organization having 75,000 members, comes to you with this letter to ask an expression of solidarity and of moral support to the protest which we have already addressed to foreign labor organizations against the plot framed by Anglo-French-American bankers, industrial capitalists and mine owners for the invasion of Mexico.

War on Mexico would mean the repetition on this continent of the tragedy of Serbia and of Belgium,

hunger, slavery, and extermination or the prospects of the Mexican proletariat today.

Every one must know the underlying causes of this conspiracy. Oil fields, copper and silver deposits, and other long coveted natural resources, are the basis of this, as of every imperialistic crusade.

It appears that the new masters of the world have already decided the fate of the Mexican proletariat. The aim is obvious --- to increase the fortunes of the industrials and financiers, at the expense of both Mexican and American lives. Armies are stationed on the frontier, ready to attack at the first signal. The aerial forces are scouting far into the interior of Mexico. The government of the United States has notified the Mexican government that the policies of the United States may change if --- and in that "if", the Latin-American countries see a common danger.

Comrades of the United States, now the world once again that in your country there are still honest hearts, who revolt at such mercenary and barbarous enterprises.

With fraternal greetings,

S. A. PRATTO.

COWRADE BLOCK: The following resolution entitled "Pan-American Relations" is submitted in response to this communication. It is divided into two parts. It is a double resolution. The first part is as follows:

"Whereas, the rapid development of great industry in the Latin-American countries and the consequent growth in those countries of an industrial proletariat, the investment there of gigantic capital owned in the United States, and the increase of commercial intercourse between those countries and the United States, make it imperatively necessary to the welfare of the toiling masses of both North and South America that active communications of all the countries of the West --- and solidarity should be established among the working-class organizations of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, to the end that the working classes of these various countries may help one another, instead of being dragged into conflict by the machinations and for the profit of their

common exploiters.

"Resolved, that the incoming National Executive Committee is hereby instructed to make every effort to get into direct and regular communication with the Socialist parties and Labor Federations of all the Latin-American Republics, to organize a systematic interchange of information and advice, as soon as possible, to promote the meeting of a Pan-American Socialist and Labor Congress, which shall be truly representative of the masses in all these countries who are striving for political and economic liberty and for international peace.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, the resolution will stand adopted as read. (Applause)

COMRADE BLOCK: The second part of the resolution is as follows: (Reads.)

COMRADE WALDMAN: I move that we strike out the expression "class conscious workers, " and that it should read, "we call upon the workers of the United States to resist," etc.

Seconded. Adopted.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It now recurs on the resolution as amended.

Resolution as amended was adopted, and is as follows:

Resolution on Mexico.

"Whereas, great capitalistic elements in the United States whose imperialistic aims and whose baleful influence upon the administration at Washington have repeatedly been shown by aggressions and threats of aggression upon Mexico, Columbia, Nicaragua,

Haiti, the Dominion Republic, and other Latin-American countries, and which are now apparently acting in conjunction with similar elements in England and France, are now attempting this moment to bring about military intervention in Mexico ostensibly for the purpose of restoring order and assuring stable government, but really with the object of upholding the profit-making interests of America and other capitalists against all attempts of the Mexican people to socialize their natural resources and protect Mexican labor; and,

"Whereas, such intervention would be a brutal outrage against the principle of self-determination and would almost inevitably lead to a desperate and bloody war, causing the slaughter of many thousands of young men of both nations, endangering the very existence of the young and vigorous labor movement in Mexico, obstructing all forward tendencies in the United States by fanning the evil passions of national vanity and national hatred, and strengthening great capital and high finance in this country, which is the exploiter and oppressor of American and Mexican labor alike, and

"Resolved, that this convention emphatically protests against the menacing attitude assumed by the administration of the United States toward Mexico; it calls upon all workers, and all other sincere lovers of liberty and of peace, to agitate with all their power against intervention; and it instructs the incoming National Executive Committee to issue such

proclamation and take such other action as may make this protest widely known, and briefly to communicate our attitude by cable to the Socialist Parties of Mexico and other Latin-American countries and to those of Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain."

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is no objection, the resolution will be adopted.

COMRADE BUEBLACOFF: In connection with the Mexican question, I move you that a provisional delegate be elected to the convention of the Socialist Party in Mexico, which is to be held in a couple of weeks from, now, as I am informed, and that the going or not going of this provisional delegate

to the Convention, be left to the incoming National Executive Committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We will take up that election with the Committee on Appeals and Grievances later.

COMRADE BLOOM: This Resolution that I have was submitted to the committee, but the committee was not in session, and has not been able to act upon it, but a number of members wish to place it before the Convention. It relates to the deportations and immigration. It is as follows:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, viewing the savage and unwarranted treatment of many foreign-born workers in this country, and the pending legislation against immigrants, protests with all its power against this reactionary attitude.

Workingmen have been seized and jailed for their radical opinions. Under a ukase of the U.S. Department of Labor, differing little from the actions of Russian Czars, workingmen have been seized for deportation without trial. They have been hunted by spies, arrested, held incommunicado, deprived of the right of consulting friends, attorneys and relatives.

They have been subjected to a police regime that is a denial of all our historical traditions, a violation of all that is decent, fair and humane.

Under the pretext of "crushing anarchy" every liberal tradition has been trampled on and the constitution has been torn to shreds. We declare that these illegal and inhuman acts, now directed against workers ~~for~~ of foreign birth, are but a preparation for similar action against the native-born. We warn the organized workers that their own freedom is jeopardized by the actions of government officials and no opportunity should be lost in making vigorous protest against these wrongs.

We also protest against the barriers proposed to be raised against the immigration of workmen to the United States. The Socialist Party has already protested against mass importation of workers to break strikes, or to deliberately glut the labor market. But it also protests against workmen being deprived of that free movement from one country to another which is universally accorded to members of the capitalist class.

The proposed new barriers against foreign-born workers are particularly obnoxious considering that they fundamentally violate even the pretended purposes of the world war. A free world is a mockery if barriers are to be erected against the movement of the oppressed from one country to another. They would foster and keep alive the artificial hatred cultivated by the exploiters of the various nations, and place obstacles in the way of an International understanding, which is essential to International solidarity of the working class."

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: If there is no objection, the resolution will be adopted as read.

COMRADE WALDMAN: Before you adopt the resolution, I wish to move to strike out that part of the paragraph which warns the workers that their freedom is jeopardized, and so forth, if they permit this to be done. I submit that weakens the resolution. I think it puts it on a selfish basis.

Seconded.

A COMRADE: I want to have that resolution as strong as possible, because I know that I have been incriminated myself.

COMRADE PANKEN: I want to appeal to the American workers to make protest in the strongest possible language against the administration for the things that they are doing with reference to those men that are kept incommunicado, with reference to those men who are kept for months and months in the anticipation of deportation. I do want to appeal to the American workers and warn them that unless they take heed at this time and permit all sorts of nonsensical laws against foreigners, these laws in the course of time will also be made applicable to them.

The amendment of Comrade Waldman, upon a vote, was lost.

The resolution, as read, was adopted.

COMRADE O'NEAL: The committee did not have very much difficulty in agreeing upon this proclamation, which you voted should be sent by the Convention back to the membership of the Socialist Party.

PROCLAMATION TO THE MEMBERSHIP

By The National Convention.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party has completed its labors and ended a fratricidal struggle that had torn the party with dissensions for many months. Your delegates have been unsparing in their efforts to ascertain the truth. They have not spared criticism where it was due nor withheld praise where it was merited.

In all such struggles, confusion and chaos are inevitable, but certain facts have been ascertained. Upon one matter the delegates representing all shades of opinion were agreed; and this agreement was based upon a searching investigation and testimony of many delegates.

There is no doubt that fraudulent methods were used in the disputed referendums. Whether the National Executive Committee took the wisest course

in suspending the offending federations and refusing to tabulate the vote, is a matter that no one can decide now. It might have been better to have permitted the matter to drift until the convention met, but it is certain that if that course was taken the facts would be the same regarding the disputed referendums.

A few facts are pertinent at this time. It was apparent to the delegates that some delegates to the convention did not intend to accept their seats. A group of them met with a Left Wing caucus before the convention opened. The leaders were A. Wagenknecht of Ohio, L. E. Katterfeld of Kansas, Wm. Bross Lloyd of Illinois, John Reed and Ludwig Lore of New York. They used their influence to cause a bolt. They and others insist that our convention excluded many delegates entitled to seats.

Here are the facts: No delegate was excluded because of his views. Many were seated without contest who were known to be opposed to the National Executive Committee.

The Oregon delegates, Left Wingers, were con-

tested. After a hearing they were seated. They refused to take their seats. Two Nebraska delegates, Left Wingers, though elected by questionable methods, were seated. They refused to take their seats. Two Utah delegates, Left Wingers, were given seats, though they were contested by a delegate opposed to them. They refused to take their seats. One delegate from Pennsylvania was seated despite the fact he attended the National Left Wing Conference. The seats of seven Minnesota delegates, Left Wing, were contested. Their spokesman told the contest committee to "Go to hell," that they would not accept the seats if given them. Six delegates of California, Left Wing, showed they were entitled to seats, but stated they would not abide by the decisions of the Convention. The convention voted to seat them. Their spokesman, Dolsen, came into the Convention, named impossible conditions for the Convention to concede, and refused to take their seats. The Ohio delegation never came before the contest committee at all.

These are the facts. These delegates did not want seats at all. They wanted to split the Party. After doing all the damage they could they

withdrew and joined with others in organizing a Communist Labor Party. They organized this party after the Communist Party Convention, controlled by the suspended Language Federation, refused an alliance with the bolters. They organized a Third Party because there was nothing else for them to do.

The Socialist Party has survived the attack of the terrorists within and the reaction without. It has not compromised, it has not retreated a single inch. It is still the American Section of the International, the militant party of the working class.

Our Manifesto is a ringing declaration of Socialist principles. We have taken an advanced stand in keeping with the new era of imperialism born at Versailles. It is an inspiring cause of action. It is an answer to all the charges that the party has forgotten or repudiated its working-class character.

The field is clear to the Socialist Party. Its progress and principles are based on material reality and the needs of the working class. The mass of the membership is with us, and others will join when they learn that political action has been abandoned by the disrupters.

Comrades: The Socialist Party will rise stronger than ever after this cleansing. We will enter the struggle next year, the military party of the workers, enthusiastic, united and determined.

Long live the Socialist Party! Long live the Internationale!"

COMRADE PAIVEN: I have no criticism to offer to the proclamation. I think it is one of the finest proclamations ever gotten up, but there is one misstatement of fact which ought to be corrected so that there can be no doubt as to what really happened in the Convention. I refer particularly to the situation in regard to the State of Ohio. The delegation from the State of Ohio did appear before the committee; but, before the contest committee could possibly take action on the proposition, to refer the matter, and before the matter was again brought before the contest committee, or before there was any possibility of bringing the matter before the contest committee, Coldwell of Rhode Island, Zimmerman and another one from Indiana, bolted this convention, even before any report was made to the convention by the committee on contests. I therefore ask the com-

mittee that the quote this evidence and change that paragraph, dealing with the Ohio situation, to read something along that line, that the Ohio State delegation had bolted the Convention before there was any opportunity for the Committee on Contests to report to the convention to consider their right to sit in this convention, particularly so since the Ohio State delegation had been suspended for a violation of the constitution prior to the convocation of the convention.

COMRADE GERBER: There is another misstatement of facts, unintentionally, I am sure, and that is with respect to Oregon. One of the Oregon delegation remained and is still in the convention.

COMRADE BEARAK: And sitting right here.

COMRADE PANKEN: Part of the Oregon delegation didn't come into the convention.

COMRADE GERBER: Comrade Mcillin is not a Left Wing-er. Let that be changed.

COMRADE MCILLIN: That part concerning the Oregon delegation should be changed to read that three of the four Oregon delegates bolted the convention.

COMRADE O'NEAL: I had the "entire" delegation, I have now "a part" of the Ohio delegation.

I will make it "three of the Oregon delegates".

COMRADE PANKEN: I desire to make another suggestion to the committee. I think it ought to mention and point out to the membership that these delegates which have been accredited to the convention received their expenses from the membership, and that they came here and failed to carry out the dictate and mandate of their constituency.

COMRADE WEISS: We don't know that.

COMRADE PANKEN: That is the fact in the State of Oregon and in the State of New Jersey, and the fact in the State of Indiana, and the fact in Kansas. Let's give them the evidence.

COMRADE O'NEAL: I will state that part of the job of drawing this up, especially regarding the facts on the contests, was referred to Comrade Wilson of Illinois, who was a member of this sub-committee, and he brought in two whole pages closely typewritten, filled with facts. We deliberately cut out quite a large number of facts in order that we might send a short document to the membership. We could accept all of these suggestions; we had them before us, and many more

more that we could use; but we put a few of the more important cases before them and let it go at that, so as not to discourage them with a long statement.

COMRADE LIPSCOMB: I want to state in regard to E. D. Wilcox of Missouri. He came here and brought his credentials. He was properly seated and remained in the convention for two days, I think, and then went down, without giving the other delegates any notice whatever, and participated in the convention below. I went down and personally saw him vote three times in the convention, and he then came back and took his seat in this convention. We gave him notice if he attempted to vote on anything there would be an immediate expose.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move you in addition to this proclamation that the incoming National Executive Committee stand instructed to write to the constituents of these delegates, who simply took matters into their own hands, the specific occasion of their desertion of the convention after receiving the funds that they did and which they were not entitled to use for the purpose. In the case of Indiana and Rhode Island they left the convention and took it upon themselves ---

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Restate the motion.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: In addition to the general proclamation I move that the incoming National Executive Committee be instructed to write and send a specific communication to each one of the states where the delegates behaved as described here today, stating the specific offenses that they have committed.

COMRADE BLOCK: There is one paragraph stating that, "These delegates did not want seats at all. They wanted to split the party." The paragraph says, "They organized a third party because there was nothing else for them to do." As a matter of fact, there was about a million things they could have done. For instance, they could have gone swimming in the Chicago River, which would not be so bad, and I think that might be left out.

COMRADE TAIT: I want to know if the delegate from Minnesota used the words that "The Convention can go to hell."

COMRADE BLOCK: Yes. It was so printed and reported.

COMRADE TAIT: I was at the contest committee meet-

ing. I know it was stated on this floor that they said it, but I happened to be present when that delegation was heard, and I didn't hear those words.

COMRADE BLOCK: That has all been decided long ago. There was pretty strong evidence to the effect that it was said.

The amendments were adopted.

The proclamation, as amended, was adopted.

COMRADE SHEEHAN; I have been asked by a number of delegates if there was any method by which they could get the full minutes of the convention. Will they be mailed to them or not, or how could they get them?

COMRADE BLOCK: I don't know. I will say that there appears to be a stenographer taking a full record of the convention's proceeding. Probably you better speak to Comrade Germer, or he will speak now himself.

COMRADE GERMER: Unless specific provision is made for the stenographic report it will not be published. In the past we have done that and found that we had invested considerable money in the record and very few asked for them. We can get out a set of the

minutes and mail a copy to each delegate.

COMRADE BLOCK: We will have a typewritten record of the proceedings for the use of the office.

COMRADE GUTLER: Yes.

COMRADE PEARAK: I move that the National Office be instructed to mail a copy of the entire minutes, plus all resolutions and Manifestos adopted, to each delegate of this convention.

A COMRADE: Does that include the transcript?

COMRADE BLOCK: It does not refer to a complete stenographic report of all discussions, but refers to the minutes taken by the secretary.

COMRADE PEARAK: Including the Socialist Press.

COMRADE BLOCK: Copies of these minutes, resolutions, platform, manifesto, and so forth, be sent not only to every delegate to the convention but to all the recognized periodicals representing the party.

Carried.

COMRADE PARKER: Regarding the publication of a stenographic record of this convention's proceedings, I move that the National Executive Committee stand instructed to look into the feasibility of publishing the same, and, if they find it is feasible they have the

authority to do so.

COMRADE BLOCK: If there is no objection, that will be so recorded, as something for the National Executive Committee to consider.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We come now to the nomination and election of committees. There is the Committee on Appeals. How many should be on that committee? (Cries of "7"). Nominations are now in order for the election of a Committee on Appeals.

COMRADE WALDMAN: A point of order. The Appeals Committee is a committee under the new constitution, and the new constitution does not go into effect until it is ratified.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I think the point of order is well taken.

COMRADE WILSON: It is just as well taken as a point of order on the question of the National Executive Committee.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If you press it as a motion I will entertain it, if that is the will of the convention.

COMRADE SHERMAN: If the referendum passes, then you will have another election to elect the committee. If the committee is elected before the referendum then it stands. If the referendum is repeated, then none of the committees stand.

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: That will be the understanding.

COMRADE AMERINGER: I move that we proceed to elect a committee on grievances.

COMRADE FLOATEN: I desire to state that the motion passed heretofore says, there is nine on that committee.

(Cries of seven).

COMRADE GERBER: The original recommendation did, but, in view of the fact that the National Executive Committee was reduced to seven, the Committee of Appeals was reduced to seven.

COMRADE WALDMAN: I move that that committee has no power until the provisions in the constitution be ratified.

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: That will be six months from now. Nothing is in order now except the nomination of candidates.

The following comrades were nominated:

Panken, Block, Crawford, Hagle, Roever, Stedman, Hohen, Brown of Indiana, Wood, Tait, Kruse, Ameringer, Cohen of Pennsylvania, Askeli, Lulow, Engdahl, Rubenstein and Nally.

The following comrades declined the nomination:

Hagle, Roever, Stedman, Brown (absent), Tait, Cohen (absent), Askeli, Lulow, Engdahl, Rubenstein and Nally.

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move that this committee nominated stand as elected as the Committee on Appeals.

Seconded; carried.

COMRADE HAGLE: In the event of a vacancy you will have to make some provision.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The National Executive Committee will probably fill the vacancy. Now we will appoint three delegates to the Amnesty Convention, which may be held on the 26th of this month.

The following nominations were made: Stedman, Berger, Hagle, Kruse, Engdahl, Henry, Wilson, Collins and Branstedder. The following comrades with-

drew their names: Berger, Nagle, Henry, Collins (absent), Branstedder (absent), Wilson.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Do you want to strike out those who are not present?

(Cries of Yes).

COMRADE SHIPLACOFF: I move that the three stand as a committee.

Seconded; carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: We will now come to the election of a delegate to the Mexico Convention. The following delegates were nominated.

Hogan, Ameringer, Bronstein, O'Neal, Engdahl, and Kruse.

The following tendered their declination:

Ameringer, Bronstein, O'Neal, Engdahl, Young and Kruse.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The secretary will cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Hogan.

Comrade Hogan was elected as the delegate to the Mexico Convention.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: A committee of five is now to be elected on the foreign speaking delegations committee.

The following comrades were nominated:

Bearak; Gerber, Sehl, Krafft, Wilson of Illinois (absent), Dreyfus, Doerrler, Weistadt, Cohen of Pennsylvania, Salutsky, Tait, Wilson of Pennsylvania.

COMRADE BEARAK: I arise to nominate Askeli to represent the Finnish Federation.

COMRADE BERGER: May I substitute for Askeli, Halnone.

COMRADE GERBER: On a motion adopted by the convention three comrades are elected to represent the party and two from the foreign speaking Federations. I think we might separate the Federations from the others right now.

The following declinations were received:

Sehl, Krafft, Wilson (absent), ~~Max~~ Weistadt, Salutsky, Cohen, Wilson of Pennsylvania.

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: The two from the federations are who?

SECRETARY: Dreyfus and Askeli.

COMRADE DREYFUS: Halonen is nominated instead of Askeli.

CHAIRMAN STEEDMAN: Under the rule, they are entitled to two out of the five members of this committee.

They will be declared elected, there being no other nominations.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: In voting on the other delegates we will take it on a "show of the hand." If there is any objection, we are required to take it by ballot.

(Cries of, No objection).

You are each entitled to vote three times on three names.

The count showed as follows:

Gerber, 54; Bearak, 51; Krafft, 20; Doerfler, 30, and Tait, 35.

Comrades Gerber, Bearak and Tait were declared elected.

COMRADE LEE: To avoid this necessity of some one else calling for the floor for information, I am just going to take the liberty to make this announcement in response to a question which has been asked repeatedly by delegates of Naily, Berenberg and myself, as to whether or not the Rand School of Social Science has been closed. I ask that the delegates will carry back to their locals the word that the Rand School of Social Science has not been closed, that its work

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is going to go on regardless of the outcome of the particular legal proceedings that are going on in New York at the present time. (Applause) If it is to be called something else instead of the Rand School, it will still go on just the same. You had yesterday before you a resolution recommended by a committee of fifteen to provide for the election of a committee to draft a permanent Declaration of Principles, which was to become upon its adoption, a permanent Declaration of Principles, and to draft a working programme for 1920, such committee to report not later than February 29th. You deferred action on that pending the report of a proposed preamble to the Constitution to serve for the present, at any rate, as a brief indication of the principles and purposes of the Socialist Party. That draft is now presented. It is based on a draft made by Comrade Kruse, with some considerable changes made by myself, and I believe accepted to by Comrade Kruse.

"The Socialist Party of the United States is the political expression of the interests of the workers in this country, and is part of the international

working-class movement.

"The economic basis of present day society is the private ownership and control of the socially necessary means of production, and the exploitation of the workers who operate these means of production for the profit of those who own them.

"The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. It is the interest of the capitalist class to maintain the present system and to obtain for themselves the largest possible share of the product of labor. It is the interest of the working class to improve their conditions of life and get the largest possible share of their own product so long as the present system prevails, and to end this system as quickly as they can.

"In so far as the members of the opposing classes become conscious of these facts, each strives to advance its own interests as against the other. It is this active conflict of interests which we describe as the class struggle.

"The capitalist class, by controlling the old political parties, controls the powers of the state and uses them to secure and entrench its position.

Without such control of the state its position of economic-power would be untenable. The workers must wrest the control of the government from the hands of the masters and use its powers in the up-building of the new social order, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

"The Socialist Party seeks to organize the working class for independent action on the political field, not merely for the betterment of their conditions, but also and above all with the revolutionary aim of putting an end to exploitation and class rule. Such political action is absolutely necessary to the emancipation of the working class, and the establishment of genuine liberty for all.

"To accomplish this aim, it is necessary that the working class be properly and solidly organized also on the economic field, to struggle for the same revolutionary goal; and the Socialist Party pledges its aid in the task of promoting such industrial organization and waging such industrial struggle for emancipation.

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"The fundamental aim of the Socialist Party

is to bring about the social ownership and democratic control of all the necessary means of production to eliminate profit, rent and interest, and make it impossible for any to share the product without sharing the burden of labor, to change our class society into a society of equals, in which the interest of one will be the interest of all.

"As subordinate and necessary to this fundamental aim, it supports every measure which better the conditions of the working class, and which increases the fighting power of that class within the present system."

COMRADE LEE: That is moved to serve as a preamble to the Constitution.

Adopted.

COMRADE LEE: The Resolution provides for the election by this Convention of a committee of seven, not necessarily from among the members of the Convention, which is to draft a declaration of principles and programme for 1920, and was read yesterday, but was not passed. I suppose it comes up for a vote now.

Seconded.

COMRADE HOHAN: I move that this committee be se-

lected by the National Executive Committee. I make that as an amendment.

Seconded.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: It is moved as a substitute. Are you ready for the substitute?

On vote, a substitute was adopted.

COMRADE QUILLAM: I want to present a motion that the new National Executive Committee be instructed to prepare a "Agenda".

COMRADE BLOCK: We already passed that resolution here this afternoon. The last resolution is on the question of the nomination of Comrade Debs. The committee considered this matter very carefully, and made various inquiries, and unanimously recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this Convention that we go on record as favoring the nomination of Eugene B. Debs as a presidential candidate of the Socialist Party in the campaign of 1920; but that we refer the actual nomination of presidential and vice-presidential candidates and the adoption of a platform for the campaign to the National Convention of 1920."

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COMRADE BECKERMAN: I will make an amendment.

It seems to me, from a legal viewpoint, as explained by Comrade Stedman, this proposition of recommending that we table the nomination and send it to the next Convention, has precisely the same legal effect as the nomination itself. It seems to me that, while I listened very carefully to what Comrade Stedman had to say on the legal end of it, I am inclined to believe that Stedman has rather overemphasized that particular point. I am of the opinion, not as a lawyer, but as a student of the relationship of government to its workers, that there is more likelihood of having better results, of having him freed, by taking positive action, than to simply lay low and hope that the government will do something. We heard today that in Italy 40,000 class war prisoners were released by the Italian government, and I am under the impression that they were released, not because of the working class laying down and hoping that they would be released, but by showing the necessary spirit and necessary fight to bring about their release. In view of the fact that this motion itself in any case would have precisely the same legal effect as a nomi-

nation, I would amend the motion to the effect that this Convention nominate Debs for 1920. (Applause)

COMRADE QUINLAN: This matter came up in the discussion, and Comrade O'Neal told me that he would rather have that himself. I told him I would make the suggestion. I move that this Convention as an amendment to the amendment, recommend to the State Organization that they nominate Eugene G. Debs for President.

COMRADE KARLIN: I believe that there is no better living witness in this convention than Patrick Quinlan himself, of the fact that it will be very bad policy at this time to nominate Debs. I remember when Quinlan was in jail, when an earnest movement was started for his release. Some of our friends in the I. W. W. started an agitation. The movement in favor of Quinlan was dropped, and Quinlan remained in jail for months. I don't know of any place where Debs could be better employed than in Chicago or in our city, but I assure you, if we nominate him, he may for that reason stay in and we will be out a candidate, and will be out a man who will reach the people with much better

force that he would be on the inside locking out. 2

COMRADE KRUSS: The committee considered this matter very carefully; not once, but two or three times. They went into every possible argument on both sides that could be advanced, and this was the agreement that they have reached, and I think it should be endorsed by this Convention. The fact is, this is not a nominating Convention. The fact is, this is not strictly speaking even a political party convention, in the sense that we are preparing for a political campaign, but it is a convention in which our sympathies and our ideals and our principles are all put down in the record, and I believe that one of the things we ought to go on record for, is an expression as to whom we think ought to be our presidential candidate. I think that this resolution be concurred in, that this Convention favor the nomination of Debs by the political convention that is coming.

CHAIRMAN SLEDGE: It may be that what I said apparently overemphasized the dangers, and perhaps that may be due to the situation that I have been in more or less for the last three years. I will recall one in-

stance. Berger was in my office when the Socialist vote had been reported from Ohio. If you recall, they carried several towns there with very large and increased vote. In that conversation he said: "What do you think the effect of that will be?" "Well," I replied, "the capitalists will simply regard that as a challenge, and in no way to be afraid of it, and in my judgment will result in the exaggeration of fraud." This morning the papers reported that Mr. Clyne was going before a Federal Judge and ask for the advancing of the cases against Berger, Kruse, Engdahl, St. John and Germer. In my own mind I haven't the slightest doubt but what the activity of this convention was in a sense responsible for it. Now, it may be that I overexaggerated, but when was the attack made on Berger? When he ran for the United States Senate and his large vote for United States Senator, was in no sense accepted by the government as an indication of the opinion which would result in a modification of their attack.

COMRADE SNEYAL: I move to table the whole proposition.

(Cries of "No.")

Comrades are calling for the question.

COMRADE NOONAN: It occurs to me, if we take this procedure with regard to him, we ought to take the same procedure with regard to Kate Richards O'Hare. It doesn't seem to me this question should go before the membership and to make a recommendation with regard to Debs without making the same with regard to O'Hare. The conditions are the same.

The resolution, as read with regard to Comrade Debs, was unanimously carried.

COMRADE NOONAN: I move that we take the same procedure with regard to the nomination of O'Hare for Vice-President.

Seconded.

COMRADE PANKEN: The matter of Eugene B. Debs was before the convention three times. On three different occasions the delegates from every part of the country had an opportunity to talk this matter over among themselves in convention. The committee had an opportunity to consider the proposition in committee and discuss it, so that we were able to give our best judgment on the question as to Debs. At the last moment of this Convention, when all of us are tired, when

no one has even given a thought to the question of offering a recommendation as to the candidacy for vice-president, this question is sprung upon us. There can be no danger at all if the matter is left to the comrades to discuss it in their Press, to discuss it in their branches, in their State Conventions, and in their Central Committees, and come prepared, when we meet in 1920, to nominate a candidate for vice-president. I beg of you at this moment that you do not take up the question of nominating a candidate for next year for vice-president.

COMRADE BECKERMAN: I move that precisely the same procedure, that the recommendation for candidates for the next convention, mention O'Hare for Vice-President.

COMRADE HOEHM: I will not discuss this matter unless the New York delegation and others discuss it. But if you insist on this motion putting up a candidate for vice-president, and you will be compelled to discuss it on the floor of this convention, I will not be afraid. You may be somewhat disappointed when the fact comes out.

COMRADE KARLIN: I wish to state that the New York delegation is not responsible for the motion of Beck-

erman. I believe that the delegates on this floor should have courage enough to permit the Convention of 1920 to have something to say about the nomination, otherwise we might as well adjourn for the next two or three years.

COMRADE O'NEAL: I move to table the whole matter.

Carried.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: If there is nothing more to come before the Convention ---

COMRADE GERBER: Shall we sing?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I will ask Comrade Wood to lead in singing the Internationale.

COMRADE ASKELL: I move that we tender a vote of thanks to the Machinists' Union.

Carried.

COMRADE GERBER: And an expression of thanks for the extra work in the National Office force.

COMRADE O'NEAL: The members of the temporary National Executive Committee meet at 9 o'clock in the National Office.

COMRADE WOOD: I propose three cheers for the Socialist Party, and its new Manifesto, before we sing.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Three cheers for Eugene D.

Debs and the International working class.

The Convention joined in the singing of the Internationale.

At 7:30 o'clock P. M., the Emergency Socialist Convention adjourned sine die.